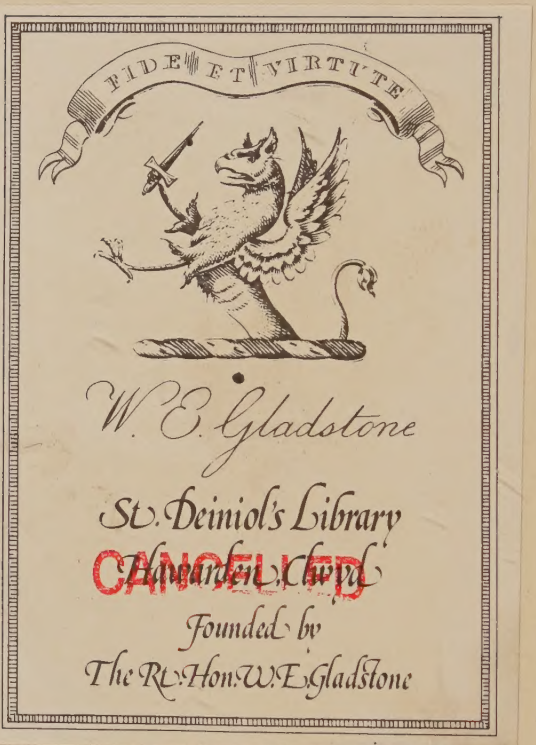
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THE PRAYER OF CONSECRATION

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THE PRAYER OF CONSECRATION

By

W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D.

Chaplain of S. Mary's Hospital, Ilford

Author of "The Catholic Conception of the Church"

Introduction by

THE RIGHT REV. CHAS. GORE, D.D.

THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD

LONDON: ROBERT SCOTT

ROXBURGHE HOUSE

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CONTENTS

		PAGE
I.	The First Eucharist. . . .	7
II.	The Two Edwardine Liturgies. .	19
III.	The Scottish Communion Office	29
IV.	Criticisms during the Seventeenth Century	43
V.	The Nonjurors on the English Liturgy	62
VI.	The American Communion Service .	79
VII.	Criticisms during the Eighteenth Century.	85
VIII.	Criticisms during the Nineteenth Century	107
IX.	The Consecration Prayer in the Twentieth Century . . .	130
X.	Conclusions	158

AUTHORITIES QUOTED

	PAGE
Andrewes, Bishop	44
Anon.	138
Armette	121
Bancroft, Bishop	44
Berdmore, Compton	116
Bingham	86
Blunt	125
Boggis	140
Bramhall, Archbishop	54
Brett	64
Bright, Canon	148
Campbell, Bishop	69
Collier	71
Comper	123
Cosin, Bishop	47
Crakenthorp	57
Deacon	98
Didascalus	153
Dowden, Bishop	122
Fairbairn, R.	124
Forbes, Bishop	45
Forbes, Bishop (Brechin)	111
Freeman	111
Frere	130, 138
Gillespie	52
Gladstone	40
Gore, Bishop	152
Grabe	101
Gummey	134
Halifax	155
Henley	97
Heylin	44
Hicks	65
Horsley, Bishop	36
Johnson	60
Jolly, Bishop	35, 91
Knox, Alex.	108
Lacey	145
Laud, Archbishop	30
Lee	113
L'Estrange	46
Liddon	143
Luckock	127
Mason, A. J.	149
Medd, P. G.	120
Neale, J. M.	42
Nelson	77
Osmond	51
Overall, Bishop	47
Pullan	132
Randall, Dean	143
Randolph, Canon	139
Rattray, Bishop	31
Riley, Athelstan	137
Sancroft, Archbishop	51
Scandret	89
Scudamore	119
Seabury	80, 135
Sharp, Archbishop	61
Shipley, Orby	113
Skinner, Bishop	32, 33
Skinner, J.	34
Sprott	115
Stephens, Edward	92
Taylor, Bishop Jeremy	55
Thorndike	58
Waterland	86
Wheatly	98
Whiston	96
Wilson, Bishop	90

INTRODUCTION

BY THE BISHOP OF OXFORD

I AM very glad to have the opportunity of writing a brief introduction to this most useful book, inasmuch as I am in cordial agreement with the desire which it expresses that sanction should be obtained for an alteration (permissive not obligatory) in the order of the prayers in our present Communion Service, or, still better, for the alternative use of the liturgy in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. There should be no doubt that we clergy are bound by our solemn declaration (made at our ordination, renewed whenever we accept any fresh ecclesiastical office, that "in administration of the sacraments, we will use the Form in the said [Common Prayer] Book prescribed and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority") to use the Communion Service in the present Prayer Book both in its substance and in its order, until sanction is obtained for something different. (The obligation to use the "Long Exhortation" has been allowed to lapse and I suppose no bishop is disposed to enforce it. But it undoubtedly might be enforced and the

clergy would be bound to obey. This, however, is not in question.) And there should be no question among us as to the validity or bare sufficiency of our present service. Indeed, even the position assigned in it to the Prayer of Oblation, after the Communion, is in remarkable harmony with the doctrine of S. Augustine, as I have endeavoured to show in *The Body of Christ*, p. 284 f. Nevertheless, our present service is unprimitive and abnormal both in what it omits and in the order, or confusion, of its elements; and the best present remedy would be the authoritative, permission of an alternative order or alternative liturgy. Such permission of alternatives, which has existed for long in the Scottish Church of our communion, would be nothing intolerable: the recent growth of mutual forbearance among our ecclesiastical parties would make it a quite practicable measure. I was deeply disappointed when the Bishops of the Southern Province (1915) declined to introduce the provision of an alternative order of prayers into its proposals for revision. It is in the hope of influencing opinion so as to bring about a reversal of this decision that this book is published and this introduction written.

The objections, long entertained as this book shows, to our present Communion Service, and the suggested remedies are as follows:

1. The almost universal order in all liturgies gathers the elements of the service in three groups: 1st, preparation; 2nd, the approach of the Church to God with its offering (intercession, adoration, commemoration, oblation, invocation); 3rd, the

response of God to man with the divine Gift and the Communion of priest and people in the Holy Things. All that concerns the offering should come first and all that concerns the Communion should follow. This could be secured by merely altering the order of the prayers in our present service. The presentation of the alms and oblations would remain in its present position, with the Prayer for the Church. This is apparently the primitive place for the intercession. Then would follow the *Sursum Corda* and the *Sanctus*, the Prayer of Consecration, the Prayer of Oblation and the Lord's Prayer. Then would follow all that concerns Communion : the Invitation, Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, the Prayer of Humble Access, the Communion, the Prayer of Thanksgiving, the Gloria (which may as well come at the end as anywhere else) and the Blessing. This is the *minimum* of desirable change.

2. But the objection would still remain that our Service contains no adequate rendering of the *Unde Memores* (" therefore, having in remembrance His passion, death, and resurrection from the dead, His return into heaven and His future second appearance, etc., we offer to Thee, etc.") and no distinct invocation of the divine power upon the gifts. These elements, so primitive and general in the liturgies of Christendom, we must passionately desire to restore. And it is this which would be secured by the restoration, as an alternative use, of the Liturgy of the First Prayer Book. It must be admitted that this liturgy, which places the invocation before the

recitation of the institution, in accordance with the Western doctrine which finds in the words of institution the whole instrument of consecration, goes in this particular quite contrary to primitive and catholic usage : but there can be little doubt that for various reasons, it would be easier to restore the Liturgy of the First Prayer Book than either the present Scottish Service or any other type of liturgy, and the first Prayer Book at least supplies us with an invocation and commemoration which are thoroughly primitive.

3. The third objection to our present office, viz. that it contains no Commemoration of the Saints and no explicit prayer for the departed, would also be met by the admission of the Liturgy of the First Prayer Book for alternative use.

On these grounds I am thoroughly in harmony with the learned writer of the little book as to the direction in which reform should move, and I am thoroughly grateful to him for the collection of material which he has made to show that what we desire is only what many pious men of our communion have been earnestly desiring ever since our present service has been in use.

C. OXON,

Nov. 25, 1916.

THE PRAYER OF CONSECRATION

The First Eucharist

THERE is to pass before us in this book a lengthy series of the criticisms which have been made on the English Prayer of Consecration from the sixteenth century to the present time. If we are to give these criticisms their proper weight, we must hold clearly present before our minds what the essentials of the Eucharist really are. For this purpose we must revert to the original Institution, and remember what interpretation Christendom has broadly placed upon it, what it is that our Lord has always been understood by the Church to have intended, and what are therefore the main aspects, or fundamental principles, whichever we please to call them, of the first Eucharist in the Upper Chamber in Jerusalem.

We set before us the original narratives of St. Mark and of St. Paul.

1. Now the first thing that impresses us is that Christ blessed the elements.

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St. Mark says: "He took bread, and when He had blessed (ἐυλογήσας) He brake it."

St. Paul says: "He took bread, and when He had given thanks (ἐυχαριστήσας) He brake it."

Some will accordingly infer that the "blessing" and the "giving thanks" are equivalent. That is a natural inference. Yet much may be lost by it. For the blessing may be thereby reduced to mean no more than thanksgiving, whereas thanksgiving might as reasonably be raised to the idea of blessing the elements. If the blessing is reduced to thanksgiving all idea of consecration disappears. But the mind of Christendom is altogether opposed to this reduction. Is it not the truer course to take both words, since both are given, and allow to each their proper independent sense? We will assert then, on St. Paul's authority, that Christ "gave thanks." That is the Godward aspect of His proceeding. It is an address to God. But it is an address in reference to the Bread and the Wine, and to the special purpose for which He now designed them. Thus it is not only a giving of thanks, it is also a blessing: that is, according to M. Claude Montefiore, whose knowledge of Jewish life adds value to his interpretation, Jesus says the blessing over the bread and the wine. We assert then, on St. Mark's authority, that Christ blessed the elements: that is, that He

consecrated them for their sacramental use.

It is deeply significant that St. Paul himself supports this interpretation. For he speaks of " the Cup of blessing which we bless."

This blessing of the elements is the very centre of the Eucharistic Rite. It is the actual consecration.

2. The second fact that impresses us is that Christ followed up the Blessing or Consecration of the elements with symbolical actions. What He blessed He brake. This breaking of the consecrated Bread is not primarily for the practical purpose of distribution. It is symbolical. It is a representation of His Death.[1] The Bread and the Wine, the Body and the Blood, spoken of and represented as separated, symbolize death. And this representation of His Death was Godward as well as manward. It pictured His Death before the Father.

Hence St. Paul, to the words " This is My Body," adds, " which is for you " (1 Cor. xi. 24). And St. Luke adds, " which is given for you " (xxii. 19). " Given " : that is to say, being now at this hour given ; by anticipation offered already. " For you " not " to you." Given for you, means given to Death in your behalf.[2] Thus the representation of Christ's Death is presented before God the Father. In other words the Eucharist is an Offering. Peculiar

[1] Cf. Loisy, *L'Evangiles Synopt.*, ii. 532.

[2] Holtzmann, *Handcommentar*, i. 278.

importance was attached in primitive Christian circles to this Breaking of the Bread. It became a well-known title for the Eucharist; a technical expression in the first Christian Community.[1]

3. Upon the Consecration follows the Offering: upon the Offering the Distribution or imparting. Christ gave the Consecrated Element to His Apostles. And in communicating the Apostles He pronounced the elements to be what He had already made them. It looks then as if the Consecration at the Institution took place by a prayer whose words are unrecorded, and not by the recital of the words "This is My Body."

The final fact to notice is that Christ commanded the observance of the rite in perpetuity.

II

From the first Eucharist we go on to think of all other Eucharists.

The Church aims at obeying the command to perpetuate the Eucharist, and to fulfil in its manner of perpetuating it what is substantially Christ's intention.

Two principal questions arise:

(1.)

The first is, concerning the Consecration. The elements are to be consecrated. But how?

[1] Oscar Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, p. 460.

What is it precisely which effects this supernatural result? How are the materials of Bread and Wine sanctified to the sacramental purpose for which Christ designed them?

The true method for the Consecration of the Eucharist has been for many centuries a matter of discussion in the Church. Western theologians have held that the Consecration is effected by the recital of Christ's words, "This is My Body," "This is My Blood." Eastern theologians, on the contrary, have maintained that it is effected by a direct appeal in prayer to the Holy Spirit.

On the side of the Eastern opinion it has been argued that at the Institution the Consecration was wrought by Christ's blessing or giving of thanks, that is to say, by His prayer to the Holy Spirit; that Christ's words, "This is My Body," etc., were not consecrative but declarative to the Apostles of a consecration which had been already achieved. Consequently, if this was so, it is argued that consecration in every other Eucharist must be effected precisely as it was in the first Eucharist. In this case the recital of the Record of the Institution may be regarded as the warrant or mandate or authority for the action of the Church in perpetuating the Eucharist, but not as the means whereby the Consecration is achieved. It is therefore maintained by advocates of this theory of

consecration that a Communion Service ought to contain a prayer to the Holy Spirit, calling on Him to consecrate the elements.

There was much discussion in the Latin Church during the Middle Ages concerning the precise words of consecration. That discussion was summed up by St. Thomas in his usual masterly way.

Four different opinions had been maintained.

1. First it was said that the Consecration of the first Eucharist was effected by Christ by His own divine power without the use of any words ; and that He instructed His Apostles what the formula of consecration was to be in future when He said to them the words, " This is My Body, this is My Blood."

This opinion must according to St. Thomas be set aside, on the ground that the Gospel stated that Christ blessed the elements, and that blessing was effected by the use of words.

2. A second opinion was that Christ blessed the elements by the use of words which have not been recorded.

This opinion St. Thomas held to be quite unsatisfactory ; because, according to the Latin view, the consecration of the elements is now effected by the recital of what was done at the Institution. But if the consecration was not effected at the Institution by the words " This is My Body," etc., neither is it

effected by the recital of those words at the present day.

3. Accordingly a third opinion was suggested. It was said that the Consecration in the Eucharist was effected at the Institution by the use of the same words as now: only that Christ said the words twice over; first secretly to consecrate, and afterwards openly to instruct the Apostles.

St. Thomas argued that this solution will not hold. For the priest in consecrating repeats the words not as said by Christ secretly, but as said by Him openly. Now the words have their value only because they are Christ's utterance. It appears therefore that Christ consecrated by His open use of them.

4. One last opinion remained. It is a critical view. The Evangelists do not necessarily record everything in the precise order in which it happened. Thus we may understand the actual order to have been that Christ took bread and blessed it saying, "This is My Body," and then brake it and distributed it to His disciples. In fact the same thing may be understood without changing the order of the Evangelical record. For the word "*saying*" may be related to the previous consecrating and not to the distributing of the Sacrament. Thus the general sense of the passage is that while He consecrated, brake

and distributed, He said, "This is My Body," etc.[1]

We shall find very strong assertions made on the subject of the Invocation of the Spirit in the criticisms on our Consecration Prayer. We shall find it pointed out that a direct appeal is made to the Holy Spirit in Baptism, in Confirmation and in Ordination, and that the omission of such an appeal in the Eucharist is a very singular defect.

It is clear that the Record of the Institution can be recited in a service as the mandate or commission for the service which is to be performed. Taken in this light it would be read like a lesson from Scripture; being the narrative of what Christ did, and what the Church will soon proceed to imitate. But the Record of the Institution can also be recited as a Ritual act: that is, with the intention of reproducing the very thing which Christ did, of praying as He prayed and consecrating as He consecrated. It may be felt that the surest way of celebrating the Eucharist must be to re-enact precisely what Christ enacted so far as the Record of the Institution enables us to do. This imitation of Christ's recorded words and actions with the intention to produce the same effect is after all the closest approach to the Institution historically possible.

For it must be remembered that our Lord

[1] 3 Q. lxxviii. A. 1

has given us detailed directions. We are given a narrative of what He did. But we are not precisely told what the formula of consecration was to be, whether it is to consist of prayer to the Holy Spirit or of the words, "This is My Body," etc., or of both combined. The Church has been left to draw its own inferences. This is entirely in keeping with the whole method of Christ's teaching. But it renders a narrow precision difficult. The fact is that the narrative of St. Mark and the account of St. Paul are both addressed to the Church which was already celebrating its Eucharists, and had therefore practically determined for itself how the Eucharist was to be carried out. But a rite may be reproduced before its theory is intellectually analysed. The scholastic precision and mediæval tendency to define must not by an anachronism be assumed to have existed in the Eucharistic doctrine of the Apostolic Age. As a matter of fact, when the Church came to consider the theory of consecration, the East and the West found themselves possessed with different ideas about it. This itself is a deeply suggestive thing.

It may well be maintained that the Consecration of the Eucharist regarded on the Godward side depends upon the action of the Holy Spirit, and regarded on the manward side it depends rather on the fulfilment of the

entire Eucharistic Rite, than either upon the utterance of any distinctive formula, or upon the explicit invocation of the Holy Spirit. The general intention of the Church to obey Christ's command and to do precisely what Christ did, in the belief that Christ will cause Omnipotence to effect through that obedience what Omnipotence alone can work: this in reality goes deeper than precision in a verbal formula.

The truth is that the theory of Eucharistic Consecration still wants thinking out even at the present day. East and West will not be brought to harmony without further discussion on the doctrine. And it will not be denied that we in the English Church have more need than most to study the method of consecration.

In reality the differences are not so great as they have sometimes seemed. It would be recognized everywhere that, fundamentally, consecration is, and must be, the work of the Holy Spirit. As Archbishop Laud said: "Less than Omnipotence cannot change those elements, either in nature or use, to so high a service as they are put in that great Sacrament." Whether the Holy Spirit is invoked or whether He is not, it is He, and He alone, Who is the real Consecrator. On that there can be no doubt either in East or West.

But since the East maintains that on the human side the consecrating action of the

Holy Spirit is secured in response to direct invocation, and since the West maintains or seems to maintain that the consecration is in response to, or by means of, the utterance of the formula, "This is My Body," etc.: it would certainly seem the best and wisest course to combine both methods in the Consecration Prayer, effecting thereby an actual union of the traditional theories of both sections of the Church, and lifting the Eucharistic Service above the reach of controversy and of criticism on either side.

(2.)

The other main question is concerning the Offering.

There is a symbolical representation of Christ's Death in the actions which Christ Himself performed in the first Eucharist. The same symbolical representation is continued in every other Eucharist. Moreover the offering of the elements necessarily follows upon their consecration. For consecration implies oblation. To set before God the consecrated elements is to offer them. In virtue of the Consecration Christ is set before God in the Eucharist as living but invested with the emblems of His Death.

This is essential to the very existence of the Eucharist. Herein lies its very nature: that which makes it what it is.

But this presentation of Christ's Death before the Father requires to be understood by the worshippers. For while this is what the Eucharistic action means, its value as a devotional expression will be little unless the meaning of the action is realized. Consequently the value of a Communion Office, viewed as imparting doctrinal truth, must depend on the measure with which it sets forth the idea of the Offering. Hence we shall find much criticism directed against our English Consecration Prayer and Communion Service at large, as being seriously deficient in the stress it lays upon the Oblation of the consecrated elements. Here then we naturally pass from general considerations of Eucharistic doctrine to the liturgies in which that doctrine finds devotional expression.

CHAPTER II

The Two Edwardine Liturgies

REDUCED to its simplest elements the Service of the Eucharist in the Prayer Books of Christendom consisted of two parts. For the Eucharist was regarded as being essentially an Offering and a Reception; a presentation of the consecrated element before the Father, and a participation of the sacred gift. The custom was for the liturgy to group together in its first part all that concerned the offering and in its second all that concerned the receiving.

This custom was not confined to any part of Christendom. Liturgical experts assure us that it was the universal way. It is said that all the ancient liturgies assume this plan.

And, given the doctrinal belief, is not this systematic grouping exactly what we ought to expect? Is it not the perfectly natural product of the belief? Would not such doctrinal principles spontaneously tend to such forms of Eucharistic expression? If the Church

understood the Eucharist to mean presentation of the consecrated Element to the Father as the memorial of Christ's Passion, followed by the reception of the Eucharistic Gift, what else could it do than compose its liturgies on such a plan? Is there not something in the very genius of the rite which seems to demand and require it?

I

With these facts in mind we turn to the first Reformed English Book of 1549. The method of the ancient liturgies is the method pursued in this Book.

It grouped together in one series three prayers which correspond to what we know in our present Book as the Prayer for the Church Militant, the Consecration Prayer, and the present first form of Thanksgiving or Prayer of Oblation. There were important differences in the contents of these three prayers compared with what we find in them to-day. But we are for the moment concerned not with details but with the general outline and construction of the first Edwardine liturgy.

First there came the Prayer for the Church with the intercessions for the living and the departed. Secondly there followed what we now call the Prayer of Consecration, including an appeal to the Holy Spirit to consecrate the elements—"Hear us, O merciful Father,

we beseech Thee; and with Thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ." Then followed the Narrative of the Institution. Thirdly, there came the Prayer of Oblation, making the offering before the Father of the consecrated elements. And the whole grand series of devotions was closed with the repetition of the Lord's Prayer.

So far for the first main division of the liturgy. Then came grouped together the series of devotions concerned with the receiving of the Sacrament. The Invitation, General Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, and Prayer of Humble Access, followed in close uninterrupted succession. Then came the actual participation. And after this the prayer of Thanksgiving, which is the second or alternative prayer in our present use.

This liturgy of 1549 suggests various reflections.

1. In the first place it is the genuine product of the English Reformation before the English Church came under the dominating influence of Continental Reformers. It would seem almost superfluous to call attention to this, were it not for the fact that its claim to represent the English Reformation has been denied.

2. It is certainly the most conservative of revisions. It follows the fundamental principles of the Sarum Rite. It retains the old division familiar from early days of the two main parts, the offering and the receiving. No doubt it cancels many practices of the mediaeval use, and it rewrites a large proportion of the prayers. But it retains the main ideas unchanged. It is in substantial agreement with the ancient liturgies.

For example, as regards the Consecration of the Elements. The liturgy of 1549 does not lay the stress which the Sarum liturgy does on the words "This is My Body," as if they were by themselves the words of consecration. It recites the words, but it also includes an Invocation of the Holy Spirit to consecrate. Thus it seems to combine the ideas of the Eastern and Western Church.

II

We have now to contrast the changes in the Second Book of Edward VI, that of 1552.

We want to avoid as far as possible burdening these pages with unnecessary details. For the whole purpose is simply to concentrate attention on matters of vital importance.

The order was broken up. The distribution of the Service into the two main parts of Offering and Receiving was no longer observed.

The great central prayer or Canon was cut into three fragments, and these fragments were dispersed among the portions of the Service which concerns the receiving. Thus whereas formerly the devotions of the offering were grouped together and attention concentrated upon this Eucharistic act, and then the devotions of the reception were similarly grouped together, and attention concentrated upon this final aspect of the Sacrament, the prayers were now alternated in a manner unpresented in Christendom.

Nothing except the fact of familiarity and custom, combined with an exclusive knowledge of the present Anglican Rite could have prevented us from noting the confusion which these changes create. Thus we have in 1552 first a fragment of the Canon in the prayer for the Church Militant, followed by a series which belong to the reception (the Invitation, General Confession, Absolution and Comfortable Words). Presently the Prayer of Humble Access, then the second part of the Canon, the Consecration, which belongs to the Offering; then the actual reception; then the Lord's Prayer; then the Prayer of Oblation put entirely out of place, for it belongs to the Offering.

There are two or three consequences of these changes which must be carefully observed.

One is that the prayer to the Holy Spirit

to consecrate the elements, which occurred in 1549, was omitted in 1552; and at the same time the Consecration prayer was cut short abruptly after the words of Institution. The consequence is that extraordinary prominence is given to the Roman idea that consecration is effected by the bare recital of the actual words of Christ, "This is My Body," "This is My Blood." It will be remembered that the Eastern Church believes the consecration to be effected by the power of the Holy Spirit in response to the Church's invocation of Him; and that the words of Christ are regarded as declarative rather than creative, asserting what has been already achieved rather than actually consecrating.

Thus the Anglican Office adopts the Roman view, and it does so in the acutest form. For the Rubric directs that in case of a second consecration being necessary, the priest is simply to repeat the Institution words.

Moreover the prayer to the Holy Spirit has been left out. All that remains to take its place is the vague and indefinite petition: "Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee; and grant that we receiving these Thy creatures of bread and wine, according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood." Contrast this

with the language of the first Reformed English Book.

Another important consequence is the displacement of the Prayer of Oblation. The presentation of Christ before the Father was in 1549 made immediately after the Consecration. This is the natural and appropriate place. For if the elements have been, in response to the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, raised to their higher purpose and made what nothing but Divine power can make them, then there lies before the Father, by the fact of Consecration, that which is infinitely precious in His sight, and the presentation of Christ to the Father follows naturally. But if the Prayer of Oblation is postponed until after the reception it may happen that the whole of the consecrated elements are already consumed: in which case we perpetrate what has often been felt to be the incongruity of offering what has already been consumed.

But the Office of 1552 weakened still further the aspect of the Offering, for it made the Prayer of Oblation an alternative, and therefore optional, collect. It is said or omitted at the discretion of the individual priest. Thus not only has the prayer been pushed out of the position which it requires and postponed to a place quite inappropriate, but it may be omitted altogether, so that the congregation

hears no offering presented to the Father at all.

Judged by the standards of the ancient Church, this means that, theologically considered, the doctrine of the Eucharist was in 1552 far less clearly and proportionately stated. The delicate balance between the two main aspects of Offering and Receiving was overthrown. To say this is not to say that the doctrine is not there. A theologian of the first rank, Bossuet, acknowledged that the doctrine was all there.[1]

But it is quite one thing to say that the doctrine is all there, and another thing to say that it is there in such a form as to be readily perceived by ordinary men.

Now we know what the motives were which prompted these alterations. The changes were due to a violent reaction from mediaeval popular errors concerning the nature of the Eucharistic Offering. The intention was to emphasize in the strongest possible way the aspect of reception. There was no intention to obliterate the aspect of offering. The Prayer of Oblation was retained. The very title Prayer of Consecration endorses this. For what is consecrated is by the mere fact of being consecrated necessarily presented and offered before God. Offering is involved in the very idea of Consecration. Every thing or person consecrated is thereby dedi-

[1] Bossuet, *Variations*, Bk. xiv. Works T. xv. 57, 58.

cated to God. Nevertheless the changes and the displacements in 1552 have had a very serious, although not surprising, result. They have greatly obscured the idea that the Eucharist is an Offering. The popular view of the Eucharist among English people has been often exclusively that of reception. If an ordinary Englishman were asked for what purpose was the Sacrament of the Eucharist instituted, he would in all probability, supposing him to have forgotten his Church Catechism, reply that it was instituted of course in order that it should be received. A perfectly true reply, as far as it goes. But conspicuously not the reply which the Church of England gives in its instructions. If the question, Why was the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ordained? is answered by the Church, "for the perpetual remembrance of the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ," it is clear that the primary purpose of the Eucharist is, according to the English Church, to be a memorial presented in prayer before the Father. Nevertheless, although that doctrine is taught in the Catechism it is obscure in the liturgy. The influence of the form of the Communion Service has done much to neutralize the teaching of the Catechism.

Defective forms of devotion must necessarily exert an influence on men's apprehension of the Faith. Our creed determines our prayers,

and our prayers react upon our creed. If aspects of the truth fail to obtain proportionate devotional expression, they will fail to secure their proper place in men's religion.

Hence it is that order is important in our public prayers. Confusion is serious. Intellectual sequence and logical coherence affect the worshippers far more than they realize. Every element of Eucharistic worship may be present, but if it is confused or vague or indistinct or disproportionate, the defects will work their own result upon the worshippers.

We are now to see in the chapters which follow how greatly, from the sixteenth century to the present time, theology and devotion in the English Church have shown themselves dissatisfied with our present Consecration Prayer as it was dislocated by the changes in 1552.

CHAPTER III

The Scottish Communion Office

THE story of "that noble, beautiful but ill-fated liturgy,"[1] as Bishop Dowden called the Book of Common Prayer for the use of the Church of Scotland in 1637, is exceptionally important towards appreciating the true lines of liturgical development.

It was Archbishop Laud's original design that the same Communion Office should be used in Scotland as in England. He told the Scottish Bishops that he was "clearly of opinion that if his Majesty would have a Liturgy there, it were best to take the English Liturgy, without any variation, so that the same Service Book might be established in all his Majesty's dominions." Laud's ideal was that there should be one Prayer Book as well as one King.

But this ideal of strict uniformity would have required a submission of the Scottish people to the English use. And such sub-

[1] *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, p. 28.

mission their independent spirit strongly resented. They preferred a distinctive liturgy of their own.

That desire gave Archbishop Laud his opportunity. If alterations were to be made, he would take care that they were made in a Catholic direction. At the same time, he only ventured upon a partial revision.

Accordingly he wrote as follows :

"We do fully approve the Collect of Consecration and Oblation should precede, and the Lord's Prayer follow next, and be said before the Communion, in that order which you have expressed; but for the Invitation, Confession, Absolution, Sentences, Preface, and Doxology, we think they stand best as they are now placed in our Liturgy, and as for the Prayer of Humble Access to the Holy Communion, that will stand very well next before the participation." [1]

The fierce and complete rejection of Laud's Book in Scotland does not appear to have been chiefly due to its doctrinal principles.

"The common belief that it was the prayer of invocation in the Communion Service which gave most offence is a mistake. Such prayer is primitive and Eastern, but not Roman; it is thought essential by the Church of Scotland, and to this day the want of it in the English Prayer Book is spoken of among us as a very serious defect." [2]

It is said that patriotic and other secular

[1] Sprott, *Scottish Liturgies*, p. lxi.
[2] *Ib.* p. lxviii.

motives were the principal causes of the rejection.

However that may be, the rejection was complete. The liturgy disappeared. From 1637 for many years no liturgy was in use at all. The Scottish Church was reduced to a state of poverty and persecution. Meanwhile the public services differed imperceptibly from the Presbyterian.

"In this deplorable state,"[1] writes Bishop Rattray, "we continued till about the year 1707; only the English Common Prayer Book had been used in some private families before, almost from the beginning of the Revolution, but about this time it began to be introduced into our more public assemblies."[2]

Some, however, wished for the restoration of the Scottish Communion Service of 1637. This was chiefly prevented by the fact of the Church's poverty. It appears also that a considerable supply of copies of the English Office was presented free of cost from England. The differences between the two books was considered to be not very material save only in the Communion Office.

"Here indeed," writes Bishop Rattray, "ours is allowed to have the preference, even by the judgment of the learnedst writers of the Church of England themselves; and accordingly it was used by several of the most intelligent clergy with the

[1] Quoted in Dowden, p. 51. [2] p. 51.

Bishop of Edinburgh's knowledge and allowance. And even some who did not use it, did yet interject a Prayer of Invocation for the descent of the Holy Ghost to bless and sanctify the Elements, and to make them the Sacramental Body and Blood of Christ, and read the first prayer in the Post-Communion immediately after the words of Institution for a Prayer of Oblation, as it was originally designed."[1]

The later history of the Scottish Communion Office has important bearing on some recent discussions concerning Revision here in England.

When the Scottish Episcopal Church came in 1789 to solicit the English Parliament for a repeal of the penal statutes by which it had been so grievously afflicted, the Scottish use of a different Communion Service was immediately raised as an argument against their claim of identity with the Church of England. Under these circumstances the Scottish clergy were forced to adopt a conciliatory attitude. They pleaded,

"having since we came to England joined in the public devotions of the English Church, we hereby declare ourselves to be in full communion with that Church. The Book of Common Prayer we believe in our hearts to be the best composed liturgy in the world. The Morning and Evening Service, as read in that Book, we constantly make use of . . .; and though we generally use the Scottish Communion

[1] p. 53.

Office, nearly as authorized by Charles I, and inserted in the Book of Common Prayer for the Church of Scotland, yet, so far are we from making this usage a condition of communion, that our own Clergy have a discretionary power to use which of the two offices they please, and some of them do actually make use of the English Office." [1]

We find a number of distinguished Scottish laymen in a letter to their Bishops, reserving to themselves the exclusive use, so long as they shall choose, of the liturgy or Service-Book as used at present in the Church of England.[2]

But this does not seem to have been at all the mind of the clergy. Their knowledge of the relative merits of the two services when tested by ancient precedent made such concessions difficult. One of the ablest among them, Bishop Skinner of Aberdeen, wrote a vigorous defence of the Scottish Rite.

"It is a circumstance well known that a party has been formed for bringing our humble Church to what they would call complete conformity with the Church of England; even in those very points as to which many of the most sound and serious divines of that Church would have been happy in the liberty which we enjoy, to make our ritual perfectly agreeable to the purest standards of the primitive Church. Yet a privilege so happily preserved to us amidst all our deprivations there are amongst

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[1] Skinner, *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, p. 97.
[2] *Ib.* p. 367.

us those who will tamely renounce, for the sake of affecting a silly imitation, not of the purity and excellence, but of what may be considered the faults and defects of the English Ecclesiastical system, because that system happens to be supported, and all its imperfections covered, by a strong legal establishment." [1]

On the other side it was persistently asserted in England that there was an essential difference between the Church of England and the Episcopal Church of Scotland, as was proved by the reference to the Scottish Communion Office.

In answer to this Bishop Skinner's son, the Rev. John Skinner, published an edition of a Scottish Communion Office with a Dissertation (1807), showing the extraordinary degree to which the Scottish Church had consented to identify itself with the documents of the Church of England.

The Scottish Church had been required by the English Parliament to accept the Thirty-nine Articles as a condition of emancipation from the penal statutes. "The Articles of the English Church seem to have been considered by the British Senate as that Confession of Christian doctrine, which, being best entitled to establishment in England, is most fit to be tolerated in Scotland." [2] And to this condition the Scottish Church consented. "The

[1] Skinner's *Annals*, p. 459. [2] *Ib.* p. 251.

Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England were, in a convocation of the whole Episcopal Church in Scotland, solemnly adopted and subscribed as the standard of faith of that Church" in 1804.[1]

The important point is this: the Thirty-nine Articles were not adopted without discussion. The teaching on the sacrifices of masses in Article XXXI was steadily faced and considered.

Bishop Jolly, of the Diocese of Moray, argued that the Church of England in

"her first reformed admirable liturgy, composed (as an act of Parliament expresses it) 'by the aid of the Holy Ghost,' spoke her sense of religion in the most solemn manner before God; and she could not be supposed to hold out a different doctrine to men in her Articles, the same persons being the framers of both."[2]

The Scottish Church must be understood as

"not thinking any expressions with regard to the Lord's Supper, in the least inimical to our practice at the altar, in the use of the Scottish Communion Office; in which we are supported by the first Reformed Liturgy of England, not to look back to all the ancient liturgies which prevailed long before the corruption of popery had a being. Some of the greatest divines of the Church of England, Poinet, Andrews, Laud, Heylin, Mede, Taylor, Brett, Johnson, and many others, have asserted and main-

[1] Skinner's *Preliminary Dissertation*, p. 31.
[2] *Annals*, p. 545.

tained the doctrine which in that office is reduced to practice. Yet these divines did all subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles, and must therefore have understood them consistently with their belief of the Commemorative Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist, using the present liturgy of the Church of England as comprehending it." [1]

This defence of the Scottish Office found a cordial supporter in Bishop Horsley, of St. Asaph.

Bishop Horsley, of St. Asaph, writing in 1806, a strong supporter of the Scottish Church, openly expressed his preference for the Scottish or First English Liturgy as compared with the existing use.

" Were I at liberty to follow my own private judgment, I would myself use the Scottish Office in preference (to the English). The alterations which were made in the Communion Service, as it stood in the first Book of Edward VI, were, in my opinion, much for the worse ; nevertheless, I think our present office very good ; our Form of Consecration of the Elements is sufficient ; I mean, that the elements are consecrated by it, and made the Body and Blood of Christ, in the sense in which our Lord Himself said the Bread and Wine were His Body." [2]

In the Scottish Canons of 1811, although permission was granted

[1] Skinner's *Annals*, p. 548.

[2] Bishop Horsley, written in 1806, quoted in Skinner, *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, p. 465.

"to retain the use of the English Communion Office in all congregations where the said Office had been previously in use, the Scottish Office is considered as the authorized service of the Episcopal Church in the administration of the Sacrament."[1]

This permission, granted to clergy ordained in England to continue in Scotland the use of the English Eucharistical Service, was criticised on the ground that to permit two forms of liturgy in one Church is to perpetuate division.

To this objection the following reply was given :

"I do not see why the slight variations in the Scottish and English offices for the Holy Communion should occasion any breach of unity between such members of the Church as may prefer either one or the other ; or why the use of either of them may not safely be left to the discretion of the Ministers. Even in the English Communion Office, the Church has left to the discretion of the officiating clergyman, the choice of two different prayers for the King, two exhortations, and two prayers in the Post-Communion ; besides a similar license in other parts of her ritual. Suppose, then, that the Episcopal Church in Scotland were to think fit to print both the Scottish and English Communion Offices in her Book of Common Prayer, and to prefix a Rubric, authorizing the Minister to use either at his discretion, what harm or inconvenience would arise ? Indeed, allowing (what the Church of England, in Article XXXIV, contends for) that 'every national Church has a right to frame its own ritual,' such a

[1] Skinner, *Annals*, p. 516.

concession as the Scottish Bishops have granted to the English ordained clergy and their congregations, does much credit to their conciliatory and moderate disposition." [1]

This defence of a double use clearly shows that the Scottish Liturgy was regarded as the truly characteristic expression of the Scottish Church, while the use of the English Office was a concession to English residents in Scotland. It is, however, a fact well known that the form conceded encroached upon the Scottish Liturgy in spite of the protest against seeking to resemble the Church of England even in its defects.

The order in the Scottish Office of 1637 was that the Prayer for the Church Militant stood as in the present English Rite. The whole series concerning the reception, from the Invitation to the Sanctus, were the same and in the same position. But the Prayer of Humble Access was said immediately before reception. The Consecration Prayer included an Invocation of the Spirit, and was followed by the Memorial or Prayer of Oblation, including our present first form of Thanksgiving.

In the Scottish Office, as revised and as printed in 1764, considerable changes were made. All that concerns the Offering was now grouped together. The central action

[1] Skinner, *Annals*, p. 442.

consisted of the Consecration Prayer, containing the Narrative of the Institution; then the Oblation of the Elements, then the Invocation of the Holy Spirit to sanctify the gifts, then our present first form of Thanksgiving, and then the Prayer for the Church Militant, with the Lord's Prayer.

The motive for placing the Prayer for the Church Militant at the end instead of before the Consecration is that the Intercessions were considered more appropriate when made while the Body and Blood of Christ were being actually presented.

The Scottish Liturgy was accorded a place of honour by the Scottish Canons of 1811. But the vicissitudes of that form of Eucharist were by no means at an end. We are told that,

"in 1862 there was an influential effort made within the Scottish Church to exterminate the Scottish Office. It was hoped thus to conciliate those in England who opposed the removal of the remaining legal disabilities under which priests of the Scottish ordination lay, on the ground that the Scottish Office constituted a vital difference between the Scottish and English Churches. Until then the Scottish Office had been the official liturgy of the Scottish Church, the English Office being the tolerated exception. As a result of the negotiations the former state of things was reversed, the English Office becoming the official liturgy and the Scottish Office the tolerated exception. At the same time the existing use of the Scottish Office was distinctly protected, and

its extended use made quite possible, though under rigorous restrictions." [1]

The greatest opponent of this change was Gladstone. In Gladstone's view the Scottish Bishops were engaged in "discreditable and shady proceedings." They were "bartering the Scottish Communion Office for access to preferment in England." [2] Comparing the English and Scottish liturgies together Gladstone held that "intrinsically the value of the Scottish Office consists, not in what is termed higher doctrine, but in greater fulness, and especially in the correspondence of its form with the primitive form, and with the general practice of Christian Churches." [3]

Gladstone further held that the American Church had "wisely framed her own office on the general basis of that in use in Scotland." [4] Quite apart from theology he was convinced that if the Scottish Churchmen abandoned this distinctive Rite their moral character would stand lower. Gladstone did not hesitate to say that "if such a negotiation be in progress as the concession of a civil privilege in return for the surrender of an ecclesiastical and symbolic document," it would seem to him, on the part of those making the surrender, "to be a transaction in

[1] See Lathbury, *Letters of Gladstone*, i. 414.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 413. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 431. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 432.

which neither Bishops, nor Christians, nor men of honour, should have a part. The proper course would be, if such a thing were intended, to begin by making Esau *Primus*." [1]

"It is, I apprehend," wrote Gladstone, "historically beyond doubt that in its general structure the Scottish Office is far more conformable than the English to the primitive liturgies; and no wonder, for the English was remodelled at a time when high and urgent reasons required a great amount of change even in form and expression, which reasons had ceased to operate when the Scotch and American offices were framed." [2]

The Scottish Office was, in Gladstone's opinion, a great treasure, a solemn trust, involving a Providential mission. Its abandonment must be a disowning of the past and a surrender of the future.[3]

These emphatic words greatly contributed to the protection of the Scottish Rite. They did not prevent a compromise, but they saved the Scottish Church from deplorable extremes.

Since that critical period the tide has turned. The Scottish Church has returned to a more balanced condition. It places a higher value than in 1812 upon its liturgy. Many influences have contributed to this. Gladstone's writings were not forgotten. The strong advocacy of that great liturgical student John Mason Neale helped the Scottish

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 435. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 438. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 445

Church to a right appreciation of its treasure. Bishop Dowden's liturgical works must have had an immense effect on Scottish opinion. Probably the Oxford Movement and the change which has come over the English Church has also contributed to the same result. In any case, the Scottish Church of the present time holds its liturgy in high esteem, and views the past depreciation of it with feelings of regret.

CHAPTER IV

Criticisms during the Seventeenth Century

THERE exists a quantity of evidence on the attitude of Churchmen towards the English Consecration Prayer during the seventeenth century. The Scottish Communion Service is of such high importance that it required discussion by itself. The Nonjurors also must be considered by themselves. But quite apart from these there are a number of eminent writers who either proposed revision or expressed their sense of the insufficiency of the existing Office.

I

Contemporary opinion on the 1549 Liturgy within the limits of the English Church is shown by the Petition of the Lords and Commons in Parliament to the King.

This petition declared that the services in that Book "were so godly and good that they

gave occasion unto every honest and conformable man most willingly to embrace them." It desired that if any "should preach, declare, or speak anything in derogation or depraving of the said book, or anything therein contained, or of any part thereof," he should be punished by the laws of the Realm.[1]

Bishop Bancroft, in his sermon at Paul's Cross, 1588, says that the First Liturgy was "published with such approbation as that it was accounted the work of God. . . ."[2]

Bishop Andrewes, in his Private Prayers, in his prayers for Holy Communion, interpolates from the ancient Greek Liturgies just those elements of Eucharistic devotion which are represented in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, and are either omitted or transposed in the present English Rite:

O Thou who sittest on high with the Father,
And art present with us here invisibly;
Come Thou to sanctify the gifts which lie before Thee,
And those in whose behalf, and by whom,
And the things for which,
They are brought near Thee." [3]

On the first English Liturgy, the historian Heylin observes

[1] Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, v. 721.
[2] Bancroft, *Sermon at Paul's Cross*, 1588, p. 53.
[3] *Devotions of Bishop Andrewes*, Newman's translation, p. 142.

" . . . And here the business might have rested, if Calvin's pragmatical spirit had not interposed. He first began to quarrel at some passages in this sacred Liturgy, and afterwards never left soliciting the Lord Protector, and practising by his agents on the Court, the country, and the universities, till he had laid the first foundation of the Zwinglian faction, who laboured nothing more than innovation, both in doctrine and discipline." [1]

In another of his writings, after remarking that Calvin's and Beza's influence promoted the changes from the First to the Second Book of Edward VI, Heylin expresses his regret that they were so successful.

" It had been happy for this Church if he and Beza could have kept themselves to their meditations, and not been *curiosi in aliena republica*, as they were too much." [2]

II

Bishop Forbes, author of the *Considerationes Modestæ*, who died in 1634, asks the question, By what words the consecration of the Eucharist is effected? He replies that

" All the more sound Protestants admit that the words by which the Eucharist is consecrated ought to be consecrative and not merely homiletic; that is, that they ought not to be spoken for the mere purpose of instructing the people, but also, nay rather, in order to consecrate the Eucharist. But

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[1] Heylin, *History of the Reformation*, I. p. vii.
[2] Heylin, *Antidotum Lincolniense*, 1637, p. 110.

the greater part altogether deny that the consecration is performed by these words and these alone, 'This is My Body' and 'This is My Blood,' as Romanists contend against the Greeks. For they think that the consecration is effected not by these words of Christ alone, but by the mystical prayer also whereby the descent of the Holy Ghost is implored, that He may sanctify the elements. . . . The Scripture, it is true, favours more the opinion of Protestants, and very many of the Fathers say repeatedly that the elements are consecrated by prayer and invocation." [1]

L'Estrange published his *Alliance of Divine Offices* in 1659. Its object was to compare together the various Liturgies of the Church of England since the Reformation, including the Scottish Service-book.

On the words "'Take, eat, this is My Body,'" L'Estrange writes, "The recital of these words pass in the common vogue for a Consecration. Were I Romishly inclined, I should rather impute unto them the power of transubstantiation, for that a bare narrative can be qualified to consecrate is certainly new divinity, unknown to Scripture, and antiquity interpreting it. Therefore I must adhere in judgment to those learned men who derive Consecration from the Word of God and prayer, the very way by which our Saviour Himself sanctified those elements in His first institution (Matt. xxvi. 26) εὐλογήσας, calling upon God for His blessing, and εὐχαριστήσας, giving thanks; in which action it must be supposed that Christ had more than a general design of saying grace, as we phrase it, for those elements as creatures

[1] Anglo-Catholic Library, *Lit.*, ii. 531.

ordained for common nutriment, viz. an intention of invocating God's blessing upon them, in reference to those ends for which He meant by His institution to separate and depute them. And though the primitive Fathers, in the act of Consecration, did usually join the narrative of Christ's institution with the words of blessing and thanksgiving, thereby, as it were, showing their Commission; yet were they far from imagining that the elements were sanctified any other way than by prayer, if they must be thought (as sure none will question it) to mean as they said."[1]

L'Estrange then proceeds to quote a number of the Fathers, concluding that "the words of Invocation of God's blessing, jointly with those of Christ's institution, constitute the Consecration." He refers both to the first Book of Edward and to the Scottish Liturgy.

III

Next to this there are three Bishops who may be grouped together: Overall, Cosin and Sancroft. The grouping is natural, for Archbishop Sancroft had been chaplain to Bishop Cosin, and Cosin to Bishop Overall.

One of the strongest advocates for the restoration of the Prayer of Oblation to its former place was Bishop Cosin.

There is the well-known passage in Bishop Cosin's *Notes on the Prayer Book*, in which he speaks of the position which the

[1] L'Estrange, *Alliance of Divine Offices*, 1690, p. 315.

Prayer of Oblation occupied in the First English Book.

"In King Edward's first Service-book, this prayer was set before the delivery of the Sacrament to the people, and followed immediately after the Consecration; and certainly it was the better and the more natural order of the two; neither do I know whether it were the printer's negligence, or no, thus to displace it. For the Consecration of the Sacrament being ever the first, it was always the use in all Liturgies to have the Oblation follow (which is this), and then the participation, which goes before, and after all the Thanksgiving, which is here set next before the *Gloria in Excelsis;* in regard whereof, I have always observed my lord and master, Dr. Overall, to use this oblation in its right place, when he had consecrated the Sacrament to make an offering of it (as being the true public sacrifice of the Church) unto God, that, by the merits of Christ's death, which was now commemorated, all the Church of God might receive mercy, etc., as in this prayer; and, when that was done, he did communicate the people, and so end with the Thanksgiving following hereafter. If men would consider the nature of this Sacrament, how it is the Christian's Sacrifice also, they could not choose but use it so too; for, as it stands here, it is out of its place. We ought first to send up Christ unto God, and then He will send Him down unto us."

Cosin's desire to ascribe the displacement of the Prayer of Oblation to a printer's negligence is not convincing. But it shows how unaccountable the change of 1552 appeared to one whose mind was saturated

with ancient Eucharistic doctrine and devotion. He knew what was the order in the ancient liturgies. He did not hesitate to say in all. He felt that this order was required by the very nature of the Sacrament. Contemplating the Prayer of Oblation as it exists in the Anglican use he could only say, "as it stands here it is out of its place." The reasonable order of things demanded that the offering should precede the reception.

We are also indebted to him for the knowledge that Bishop Overall considered it to be within his Episcopal rights to transpose this Prayer of Oblation when he celebrated the Eucharist. We are naturally led to wonder whether Bishop Cosin did not do the same. Certainly after writing that "if men would consider the nature of this Sacrament, how it is the Christian's Sacrifice also, they could not choose but use it so too," it is not unnatural to assume that he carried his own principles into execution.

In any case, Bishop Cosin did his utmost to get this prayer restored to its former position in the Revision of the Prayer Book of 1661.

Osmond, in his *Life of Bishop Cosin* (1913), says,

"In 1661 he did not contemplate bringing back the whole Service to the former order; but he cherished the hope that his fellow-revisers would approve the following rearrangement of the latter part:

The Preface with the Sanctus.
The Prayer of Consecration.
The Prayer of Oblation.
The Lord's Prayer.
The Prayer of Humble Access.
The Priest's Reception and the Administration.
The Agnus Dei with other Sentences.
The Prayer of Thanksgiving.
The Gloria in Excelsis.
A final Collect or Collects.
The Blessing.

"But Cosin's hopes were disappointed even in Committee, when Sancroft, as Secretary, had to write, 'My Lords, the Bishops at Ely House ordered all in the old method.' Even then, Cosin does not seem to have abandoned all hope of getting his way in this matter; apparently he instructed Sancroft to insert in the Fair Copy of the Committee's recommendations an extra leaf on which his pet project was fully written out, with a note explaining that it was 'left to censure.' But Convocation proved no less obstinate than the Committee, and a most favourable opportunity of amending one of the weakest features of the Prayer Book was lost. There are, to-day, hundreds of English Churchmen who, if asked what they would consider the most pressing need in a revision of the Book of Common Prayer, would unhesitatingly single out some such rearrangement of the Canon as that upon which Cosin had set his heart."

"Perhaps the next most important change such Churchmen would urge would be the restoration to the Prayer of Consecration of an Invocation of the Holy Spirit. This, too, Cosin advocated, and in his Corrected Copy inserted a cautious *Epiclesis*, not unlike the forms in the first English Prayer Book and in the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637: 'Vouch-

safe, by the powers of Thy Holy Word and Spirit, so to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine that we, receiving them according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution,' etc. There was surely some malign influence at work when Convocation was led to reject this recognition of our dependence upon the operation of the quickening Spirit for the efficacy of the Blessed Sacrament." [1]

There still exists a form of Consecration Prayer suggested by Archbishop Sancroft, and probably intended to be submitted to the Revisers of 1661. It begins in terms identical with our English use until it reaches the words, "Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee." Then it adds immediately the Invocation of the Holy Spirit—

"and by the Power of Thy Holy Word and Spirit vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine; that in receiving them according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy Institution, in Remembrance of Him, and to show forth His Death and Passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood, who in the same night," etc.[2]

Our present Consecration Prayer is then continued to the end. Then there is added

[1] Osmond, *Life of Bishop Cosin*, p. 233.

[2] See Dowden, *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, p. 287.

immediately the Memorial or Prayer of Oblation.

IV

To these must be added criticisms by Presbyterians.

The Scottish Presbyterian, Gillespie, pleaded that the Consecration of the Bread to be a Sacrament is not by the mere recital of the words, "This is My Body," but by the words and by prayer. Writing in 1660 his Dispute against the English Papist Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland, and addressing himself "to all and every one in the Reformed Church of Scotland, England and Ireland who love the Lord Jesus, and mean to adhere unto the Reformation of Religion," he argues against Bishop Lindsey as follows:

"He saith that by the sacramental word, This is My Body, the Bread is made the Sacrament. And that without this word all our prayers and wishes should seem to no use. Where he will have the Bread to be otherwise consecrated by us than it was consecrated by Christ: for that Christ did not consecrate the Bread to be the Sacrament of His Body by those words *This is My Body*, it is manifest, because the Bread was consecrated before His pronouncing of those words: or else what meaneth the blessing of it before He brake it? It was both blessed and broken, and he was also distributing it to the Disciples, before even He said, *This is My Body*. . . . Wherefore we must not think to sanctify

the Bread by this prescript word, *This is My Body*, but by Prayer and Thanksgiving, as Christ did."

Gillespie appeals to Presbyterian writers in support of this. He further adds in explanation,

"I say not that these words, *This is My Body*, have no use at all in making the Bread to be a Sacrament. But that which giveth us dislike is that the Bp. maketh not the Word and Prayer together, but the Word alone to sanctify the Bread and Wine." [1]

This criticism on our Consecration Prayer by a Presbyterian deserves special attention. It makes it evident, and indeed the fact is well known from other sources, that it was not only High Churchmen who felt dissatisfied with this central portion of our Eucharistic Rite. Presbyterians were equally strong on the idea that our Office required the insertion of a prayer to the Holy Spirit.

The Presbyterians made this perfectly plain in their criticisms on the Prayer Book in 1661.

According to the Scottish Liturgical student, Sprott,

"The English Presbyterians, at the Savoy Conference, complained 'that the manner of consecrating the elements is not,' in the Prayer Book, 'explicit and distinct enough, and that the minister's breaking of the bread is not so much as mentioned.' In the amended Liturgy which they proposed, the dif-

[1] Gillespie, *Dispute*, 1660, p. 352.

ferent parts are kept distinct, thus: (1) *Consecration* by the words of institution and prayer, after which the Minister is to say, 'This bread and wine, being set apart and consecrated to this holy use by God's appointment, are now no common bread and wine, but sacramentally the Body and Blood of Christ. (2) *Commemoration of Sacrifice.* A short prayer, then breaking of the bread, with the words, 'The Body of Christ was broken for us, and offered once for all to sanctify us: behold the sacrificed Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world.' Then the pouring out of the wine, with the words, 'We were redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot.' (3) *Communion*, preceded by a prayer of access, and given with words of Scripture. At the revision of the English Prayer Book, a notice was added directing the bread to be broken, but in such a way that it takes place before what, according to that service, is the Consecration; so that it is not Christ's Body sacramental that is broken, but simply bread, and thus there is no proper commemoration. In all ancient Liturgies the breaking takes place as with us" [i.e. in Scotland] "after the Consecration. Cosin, in 1662, proposed that the order of the Communion Service given in Laud's book of 1637 should be followed in England."[1]

V

The Irish Church is represented by the two great writers, Archbishop Bramhall and Bishop Jeremy Taylor.

Archbishop Bramhall (died in 1663), speaking of power given to priest to consecrate the

[1] Sprott, *Scottish Liturgies*, p. lxi.

Sacrament, distinguishes the different theories of the manner by which consecration is effected :

"whether it be done by enunciation of the words of Christ, as is observed in the Western Church, or by prayer, as it is practised in the Eastern Church ; or whether these two be both the same thing in effect, that is, that the forms of the Sacraments be mystical prayers, and implicit invocations. Our Church for more abundant caution useth both forms." [1]

Bishop Jeremy Taylor, who died in 1667, was of much the same mind as Bishop Cosin in this matter of the Anglican Eucharist. He held that at the Institution the consecration was wrought by Christ's prayer.

"It is to be supposed that Christ consecrated it before He gave it to them ; and yet if He did, all the consecration was effected by His benediction of it."[2]

But Bishop Jeremy Taylor did much more than criticize. When the use of the English Rite was prohibited under the Commonwealth he drew up an alternative form of service for the Eucharist. He published a Collection of Offices, "collected out of the devotions of the Greek Church." In the proposed alternative Communion Service there is a direct Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the ele-

[1] Bramhall on the Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops, *Works*, iii. 165.

[2] Bishop J. Taylor, *Dissuasive Works*, vi. 481.

ments; and a Prayer of Oblation, distinctly so named, and following immediately after the recital of the words of Institution.[1]

The words of the Invocation are:

"Have mercy upon us, O heavenly Father, according to Thy glorious mercies and promises, send Thy Holy Ghost upon our hearts, and let Him also descend upon these gifts, that by His good, His holy, His glorious presence, He may sanctify and enlighten our hearts, and He may bless and sanctify these gifts."[2]

The Prayer of Oblation includes the words,

"We sinners, Thy unworthy servants, in remembrance of Thy lifegiving passion, . . . Thy resurrection from the dead and Thy ascension into heaven, Thy sitting at the right hand of God, making intercession for us . . . do humbly present to Thee, O Lord, this present sacrifice of remembrance and thanksgiving, . . . etc."[3]

Jeremy Taylor also inserted previously in his Communion Service the prayer,

"Grant that with a holy fear and a pure conscience we may finish this service, presenting a holy sacrifice holily unto Thee, that Thou mayest receive it in heaven, and smell a sweet odour in the union of the eternal sacrifice which our blessed Lord perpetually offers; and accept us graciously as Thou didst entertain the gifts of Abel, the sacrifice of Noah, the services of Moses and Aaron, the peace offering

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[1] *Works*, viii. 573.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 624.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 626.

of Samuel, the repentance of David, and the incense of Zacharias: and as from the hands of Thy holy apostles Thou didst accept this ministry, so vouchsafe by the hands of us miserable sinners to finish and perfect this oblation, that it may be sanctified by the Holy Ghost, and be accepted in the Lord Jesus . . ." [1]

VI

Following upon these may be grouped together the three distinguished theologians, Crakenthorp († 1631), Thorndike († 1672), and Johnson of Cranbrook († 1725).

All these were careful students of the doctrine of the Eucharist. They paid unusual attention to the subject of Consecration. And their influence over the Nonjurors and the subsequent teaching of English Churchmen was very considerable.

"Christ took bread; He blessed the bread; by that blessing or prayer He consecrated it to this holy sublime, heavenly and mystic use, that it should be a symbol not only signifying but effectual, and bestowing His Body to believers instrumentally but spiritually. Of this bread thus blessed, consecrated, and by Christ's blessing changed, . . . of the bread, I say, thus changed from ordinary and common use to this holy and heavenly use, He said, This is My Body; this which I have taken, which I have broken, which I have consecrated, which I have given to you to eat, this is My Body." [2]

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[1] *Works*, viii. p. 618.

[2] Richard Crakenthorp, *Defensio Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, ch. lxxii. 3.

The question, by what means is the Consecration of the Eucharistic Elements achieved? was discussed by Herbert Thorndike, Prebendary of Westminster, who wrote about it in his *Laws of the Church*, published in 1659.[1]

Thorndike criticizes the scholastic opinion that the Consecration of the Eucharist consists in the recital of the words, "This is My Body, This is My Blood."[2]

"And is it not, then, free for me to declare that I could never rest satisfied with this opinion of the school-doctors; as finding it to offer violence to common sense, and the truest intention of that which we may see done in consecrating the Eucharist? For when our Lord takes the elements in His hands and blesses them (or gives God thanks over them), then breaks the bread, and delivering them, bids His disciples take and eat them, because they are His Body and Blood; is it not manifest that they are so called in regard of something which He had already done about them when, delivering them, He calls them at that present time of delivering them, that what He could not call them afore, His Body and Blood?"[3]

Thorndike argued that

"these words, as they are used in consecrating the Eucharist, are part of the rehearsal of that which our Lord Christ did, when He consecrated that Eucharist which He gave His disciples. And will any reason endure this: that the Eucharist be thought

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[1] Book III. ch. iv. [2] *Works*, IV. pt. i. p. 50.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 51.

to be consecrated by reciting what Christ said, when He delivered that Eucharist which He had consecrated, and not by doing what Christ commanded to be done when He appointed it to be celebrated? Certainly, he that says, Christ took bread and blessed and brake it, saying, 'Take, eat, This is My Body,' says what Christ did and said, before and when He delivered it. He that says further, that He said, 'Do this in remembrance of Me,' says that Christ instituted this Sacrament. But to say that Christ instituted this Sacrament, is not to consecrate that Sacrament which Christ instituted. That is not done but by doing that which Christ is said to have done.

"And is not Christ said to have 'blessed' the elements? Is it not said, that, having 'taken' and 'blessed' and 'broken' the bread, delivering it to His disciples, He affirmed it to be His Body at the present when He delivered it?

"Can the becoming of it His Body be imputed to the 'taking,' or 'breaking,' or 'delivering' of it? Doth it not remain, then, that it be imputed to the blessing of it?"[1]

That the Consecration of the Eucharistic elements is effected by prayer that they may become the Body and Blood of Christ, that is, by Invocation of the Holy Spirit, Thorndike considered proved from the form of Consecration in all ancient Liturgies.[2]

He appeals also to the language of St. Irenæus about the bread that has received the Invocation of God being no more common bread, but Eucharist.[3]

[1] *Works* iv. p. 52. [2] *Ibid.* p. 55. [3] *Ibid.* p. 62.

Whether Thorndike's report of the evidence gives the true proportion of ancient belief, and whether he adequately recognizes the Western belief from the time of St. Ambrose, is another matter. But what is certainly clear is that Thorndike's teaching must have led those who accepted it to a very earnest desire for the restoration of an Invocation of the Holy Spirit into the Liturgy of the English Church.

Thorndike himself applied these principles to our present Communion Service in another of his writings.

"The prayer which we consecrate with seemeth agreeable to the intent of God's Church; but more agreeable in that form which the first Book of Edward the VIth (revived by the Scottish Liturgy) prescribeth. And that memorial, or Prayer of Oblation, which is there prescribed to follow immediately after the Consecration, is certainly more proper there than after the Communion, ending with the Lord's Prayer, and the Peace after that. For this is the form of the whole Church. . . ."

The theologian Johnson, Vicar of Cranbrook, earnestly advocated a revision of the English Rite, to bring it into much closer harmony with ancient precedent.

"I doubt not, but in the Primitive Church, whatever Bishop had opposed or depraved the Sacrifice, he would immediately have been obliged to give place to an orthodox successor; for I have reason to

believe that the ancient Bishops, clergy, and people were not more uniform in any point of doctrine or worship than in their notions and practice concerning the Eucharistical oblation. And if any single Bishop, with the generality of his clergy and laity, had agreed together to maim or deface the Christian Sacrifice, and stood in defiance of their neighbouring Bishops and Synods, yet any particular clergyman or layman, who was dissatisfied with these innovations, might, in such a case, have removed into another diocese, where the Sacrifice was retained in its perfect purity and splendour; but it is evident that nothing of this sort is now practicable in this national Church; and that therefore such priests and pious, discerning laymen as are convinced of the truth and necessity of the primitive Sacrifice, and do not think that the public provision for it is sufficient, have no proper remedy left, but to labour with prayers to God, and with persuasions and arguments to men, for the perfect restitution of the sacrificial, oblatory part of the Christian Liturgy; and, in the meantime, to supply such defects as well as they can by their own private silent devotions." [1]

Another witness is found in the person of Dr. John Sharp, Archbishop of York from 1691–1713. His son and biographer says of him:

"Neither did he think the Liturgy so exactly reformed, as to admit of no further amendment, had there been opportunity of attempting such a thing with safety. Though he admired the *Communion office* as it now stands, yet, in his own private judgment, he *preferred that in King Edward's first Service-book* before it, as a more proper office for the celebration of those mysteries." [2]

[1] J. Johnson, *On Sacrifice. Works* i. 17 (1847).
[2] Sharp's *Life of Archbishop Sharp*, i. 355.

CHAPTER V

The Nonjurors on the English Liturgy

THE attitude of the Nonjurors to the English Communion Service is of exceptional interest. They were men distinguished by their devotion to Church principles. They were the natural successors to Bishop Andrewes and Archbishop Bramhall, Bishop Cosin and the great leaders of the Caroline period. They were thoroughly familiar with the teaching of such theologians as Thorndike and Johnson of Cranbrook. They were also learned men, with independent knowledge of the Fathers, and some among them distinguished students in the liturgies of the past. Their secession was enforced on purely political reasons, and in no way changed their ecclesiastical principles. Their theology as Nonjurors was identical with that of their Anglican period. The only difference was that, being released from the pressure of State establishment, they were enabled to give

their principles a less restricted expression; being no longer under the embarrassment of considering how their devotions would appear to Protestant authorities either in Church or State.

Their general attitude is admirably described in the following words of Bishop Dowden, of Edinburgh:

"When the first shock of the event so momentous in the lives of most of them had passed, and left them time to consider their positions, it must have been inevitable that many of them would desire to find forms of devotion that would express their faith and their desires more adequately than the English Book of Common Prayer. They had loved the English Prayer Book, but they had always thought it capable of very considerable improvement. The last revision, though largely influenced by divines of their own school, yet, in their judgment, had resulted, like the revision of 1552, in a faulty compromise, to be borne with indeed for the sake of unity, but still painfully defective in some matters of grave importance. More especially in regard to the Eucharist they considered that there was room for a closer approach towards purer and more primitive models. What was now to prevent them adopting a more satisfactory form?"[1]

The changes which the Nonjurors desired were various, but chiefly two: the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, and the transposition of the Prayer of Oblation. They knew that

[1] Dowden, *Annotated Scotch Communion Office*, p. 59 (1884).

these were contained in the first English Book, and that they were characteristic of the worship of the Primitive Church. Why should they not be restored?

The Nonjuror Brett's liturgical studies led him to the results which the following passages will show.

"In a word, this, I conceive, is manifest from the Testimony of the Fathers . . . and from the Liturgies . . . that the Universal Church, from the Apostles' Days downwards to the Reformation, always used to recite the Words of Institution, to offer the Elements to God as the Sacramental Body and Blood of His Son, with a thankful Remembrance of His Death, and then to desire and pray for the Descent of the Holy Ghost, to make the Elements the Body and Blood of Christ in Power and Effect, as having been taught by our Saviour Himself, that it is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing, and that they believed that every one of these contributed to the Consecration, which, as St. Augustine says, was sanctified by the invisible Operation of the Holy Ghost, who, being prayed for, as Optatus says, was believed to descend upon the Elements. Therefore in their opinion neither the Words of Institution, or Oblation, or Invocation, could be omitted, but it made an essential Defect in the Form of Consecration. Concerning the Necessity of reciting the Words of Institution, there is no dispute betwixt us and our adversaries; they hold it to be necessary that those Words should be recited as well as we. The Oblation, with the thankful Remembrance of Christ's Death, which accompanies it in all the ancient Liturgies, is expressly commanded in those Words, Do or offer this in remembrance

of Me; and is therefore necessary because so expressly enjoined: and the Invocation for the Descent of the Holy Ghost is no less necessary, because without His Descent and invisible Operation in and with the sacred Elements, they can be of no Benefit to us; for our Lord Himself teaches us, that it is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. Every one of these Particulars being therefore essentially necessary to the due Consecration of the Eucharist, and the Oblation and Invocation being so apparently laid aside in the present Communion Office of the Church of England, as any one must be convinced who compares that Office with the Clementine or any other Liturgy here published, those are not to be blamed who endeavour to supply these Defects in the best manner they are able, by following the most ancient Liturgies in these Points, whatever be the consequences."[1]

"Now some persons who were convinced by Bishop Hickes's and Mr. Johnson's Arguments, that these were essential Defects in the present Communion Service of the Church of England, but could not be of the mind to think that such Defects in a public Office of Communion could be effectually supplied by private Devotions, thought it expedient to desire that either the first Liturgy of King Edward VI might be restored, or at least such prayers and directions as were believed by them to be essentially necessary to the due celebration of the Eucharist. For my own part, as I was fully convinced of some of these Defects before I left the public Communion, I did endeavour to supply them the best I could without making a public Declaration of my opinion. I left out the words, *Militant here in earth*, and said only, *Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church*;

[1] Brett, *Dissertation on Liturgies*, pp. 183, 184.

conceiving that if those words were omitted, the Petition, THAT WITH THEM *we may be partakers of Thy heavenly kingdom*, might fairly be interpreted as a Prayer for the Saints Departed, *that* THEY *as well as* WE *might have a joyful Resurrection, and be made together partakers of everlasting happiness.* And immediately after the Words of Institution, before I administered or received the Elements, I privately said the Prayer of Oblation and Invocation, very near the same as it is in the Clementine Liturgy, Or if I received where any other Priest administered, as soon as he had said the Words of Institution, I privately used that Prayer.

" When I had quitted the public Communion, and joined myself to the Communion of Bishop Hickes . . . from what I had formerly heard him say in conversation, and from what he had published in print, I conceived I might very reasonably conclude that I had his authority, or, at least, his leave, to do those things which he had so much recommended in his public writings. I, from that time, when I did administer the Eucharist, always mixed Water with the Wine ; I left out the words, *Militant in earth*, and I said the Prayer of Oblation and Invocation aloud. Other persons, who were sensible of these Defects in the established Communion Office, endeavoured to supply them in such a manner as they thought most expedient, some one way, some another, which broke our Uniformity. This being observed by some amongst us, some months after the death of Bishop Hickes, they thought it advisable to lay the case before their superiors, and to desire their directions in these points, that the Uniformity might not be broken." [1]

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[1] Brett, *Dissertation*, etc., p. 358.

Brett goes on to describe the results of this consultation. The minority proposed

"that as there was an English Liturgy made in the second and third years of King Edward VI which contained all that was now desired, the Communion might be administered amongst us according to that Office; or, at least, that some of the prayers and directions in that Communion Office might be added to the present Office. But the majority still insisted that they were obliged to adhere to the present Liturgy, and could make no alterations in it."[1]

The minority persisted, and in order to prevent a schism, proposed

"1. That water be constantly mixed with the wine. 2. That the words, 'Militant here in earth' be always omitted. 3. That the petition in the Prayer of Consecration be always, 'Hear us, O Merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee; bless these Thy creatures of Bread and Wine; and grant that we,' etc. 4. That the Prayer of Oblation as 'tis worded in the present Liturgy be used immediately after the Words of Institution, before communicating."[2]

To this, however, the majority would not consent. Brett's comment on this refusal is as follows:

"It is well known that immediately after the Revolution there appeared a great zeal in many of the highest governors, both in Church and State, to make several alterations in the Liturgy, in order to

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 360. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

bring the Dissenters into the Communion of the Church of England. I will by no means deny this to have been a very laudable Design, for, as Archbishop Wake has judiciously said on this Occasion, 'I hope it will not be thought any crime for the Bishops and Clergy of the Church to be willing to enlarge its Communion, by any methods which may be more likely to gain others, and yet not injure their own Establishment.' And sure it will not be more for the Honour of the Church of England, or more her Interest and Advantage, to bring a few Protestant Dissenters into her Communion than to bring the Apostolic and Primitive Catholic Church into it: or more fully and firmly to unite herself to that by restoring those Doctrines and Usages which are apparently Primitive and Apostolical, which she has now laid aside." [1]

The outcome of this Conference was that Brett and those who agreed with him published an edition of the First English Liturgy, and also composed a new Communion Office for use among the Nonjurors.

"In the compiling this Office, we had a special Regard to the Communion Office of the Church of England as a testimony that . . . we were willing and desirous still to join with it, where we did not find it erroneous, and to have departed from the Doctrine and Practice of the Universal Church, if not from the plain words of Scripture, adding some few things out of King Edward's first Liturgy, which, though not essential, yet we conceived had been laid aside in the second, without so much as a colour of reason for it, but only to please Calvin: such as

[1] Brett, *Dissertation* p. 363.

'Hosanna in the Highest; Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord: ' . . . Also in the Order wherein the prayers have been placed, we have followed that Liturgy, and particularly have set the Confession, Absolution, comfortable sentences of Scripture, and Prayer of Humble Access immediately before the Distribution of the Elements: in which order of prayers that Liturgy has followed the general practice of the Ancient Church, and the present established Liturgy has deviated from it. But, then, where both these have deviated from the Practice of the Church, there we thought it necessary to follow the much elder Liturgies, rather than either of them."[1]

". . . As to the controverted points (for the sake of which only we thought it necessary to alter the Communion Office), we have followed the first Liturgy of King Edward VI, excepting where we found it not so agreeable as we could wish to the ancient Liturgies."[2]

The teaching of Hickes and Brett was followed by Campbell in his doctrine of the Intermediate State, 1721. He says that the Church of England at the Reformation

"composed a noble Liturgy so early as the beginning of King Edward VIth's Reign, wherein she retained most of what was valuable and primitive in the Romish Liturgy, and threw away the dross and refuse which they had superadded. And to make it the more complete, she took some things which she judged to be necessary and convenient out of some other Ancient Liturgies, to make it the more perfect."[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 381. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 382.
[3] Campbell, *Middle State*, p. vi. (1721).

He goes on to express a wish that the English Church had translated and adopted one of the ancient Greek Liturgies; "but since this she did not then do, she did the next best, and made her Liturgy by much the best of any modern one of that time." Then Campbell quotes the Act of Parliament which confirmed the use of this office, and declared it to have been compiled "by the aid of the Holy Ghost."

"This shows," observes Campbell, "that it was the opinion of that Protestant Parliament that the Holy Ghost assisted the Bishops and other Divines who composed it: And I do truly think they judged right, but I do not know that Bucer, or Peter Martyr, or Archbishop Cranmer, who employed them, though foreigners, did pretend to any aid of the Holy Ghost in the alterations they afterwards made.

"And I think several of the alterations which they did make may be much more easily accounted for from the Puritanical, Calvinist, and Zwinglian schemes and errors than from the Illumination of the Holy Ghost."[1]

Campbell proceeds to specify what those erroneous alterations were.

"Upon this Puritanical bottom it was that the Invocation of the Father in the Prayer of Consecration for the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Sacred Symbols of the Holy Eucharist was cancelled, though it was even thought by the Ancients to be an essential necessary part of the Consecration."[2]

"Thus also was the Oblatory Prayer misplaced,

[1] Campbell, *ibid.*, p. vi. [2] *Ibid.*, p. vii.

and ordered to be said after the Distribution, to banish the Primitive Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist's being a proper and Propitiatory Sacrifice, at the expense of the very great impropriety of pretending to offer what has been first eaten and consumed."[1]

A very able and effective supporter of these principles appeared in the person of Jeremy Collier, Nonjuror and Church Historian. He published in 1717 his *Reasons for Restoring some of the Prayers and Directions as they stand in the Communion Service of the First English Reformed Liturgy*. After pleading for the mixed Chalice and Prayers for the Departed in clearer terms, and laying down the maxim that "where the Church of England has left her meaning doubtful, the greatest honour we can do her is to interpret her to a Conformity to Primitive Practice,"[2] Collier pleaded earnestly that the Invocation for the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Sacramental Elements should be restored.[3] He held that the evidence of the ancient Liturgies placed the Consecration of the Elements in the Prayer to the Holy Spirit rather than in the recital of the Words of Institution.[4]

"And, though we are willing to believe the Force of the Invocation may be contained by Implication in our present Office, yet, since express terms are

[1] Collier, *Reasons*, etc., p. vii.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 20. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 22. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 23–25.

more instructive and solemn, since this has been the practice of the Ancient Church, we can't help preferring the form of the First Liturgy."[1]

Collier proceeded also to plead for the restoration of the full form of the Prayer of Oblation as it stood in the first Reformed Book.[2]

He laid great stress on the high opinion which the Civil Legislature had of our First Common Prayer Book.

"The establishing Statute mentions it in the most honourable manner, and declares that it was finished by the aid of the Holy Ghost.[3] And when Bucer's animadversions, Calvin's magisterial cavils, and Peter Martyr's active soliciting, had influenced the King and Council, and made an interest among the clergy; when these Foreign divines, who had little regard for Antiquity, but prevailed for an Alteration: when this was done, and a Statute of Repeal passed, the First Common Prayer Book is called 'a very godly Order, agreeable to the Word of God, and the Primitive Church, very comfortable to all good people desiring to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the estate of this Realm.'[4]

"This is a noble testimony. The First Book is said to be formed upon the doctrine of the Scriptures, and the practice of the Primitive Church: and that 'tis very serviceable for the promoting piety and public advantage. This commendation is given without abatement. There is no stroke of censure no charge of superstition, no blemish either with respect to doctrine or ceremonies thrown upon it.

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[1] Collier, *Reasons*, etc., p. 25. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[3] 2 3 Edw. VI., cap. 1.
[4] Collier, *Reasons*, etc., p. 34.

"But if the Book was in this good condition, why was it brought under a Revise? Why are some parts expunged, some added, and some transposed? The Statute accounts for this. There were 'divers doubts risen for the fashion and manner of the Administration of the same.' Then it seems there was no exception touching any part of the matter. But were those doubts well founded? No; the Act says they proceeded 'rather from the curiosity of the Ministers and Mistakers, than of any worthy cause.' From hence we infer, that the 'Explanations,' as they are called in the Second Book, were not made without compliance with the weakness of some people: not without condescension to those who had more scruples than understanding, more heat than light in them. And thus, in the Judgment of the Parliament, the First Common Prayer Book was formed by Divine assistance, and discharged by human infirmity."[1]

Collier's tract was naturally criticized on the conservative ground that it was safer to let things alone, and on the ecclesiastical ground that such change required authority. It was admitted by his opponents that the Invocation of the Holy Spirit was a good petition; that, if it was now in the Liturgy, it might certainly be used; and that it would be perfectly reasonable to propose it to Convocation. In other words, that it is better in than out.[2] But it was declared that there was no Scriptural authority for it.

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[1] Collier, *Reasons*, p. 35.

[2] *Defence of the "Reasons,"* p. 102.

To his critics Collier replied in a series of tracts. He asserted that Consecration of the Elements by prayer to the Holy Spirit was authorized by Scripture, for Christ Himself did so at the Institution.

"Our Blessed Saviour, at the Institution of the Holy Eucharist, *blessed* the Bread and the Cup. . . . And does not Blessing, in the Scripture language, mean praying for a Blessing? And are not the Blessings of God the Father conveyed by the Holy Ghost? To Eucharistize or Bless the Elements is, therefore, in other words, to pray for the Descent of the Holy Ghost. Now, what our Saviour did, He commanded His disciples to do."[1]

Collier added that

"our Lord, the Apostle acquaints us, offered Himself to God through the Eternal Spirit. This Oblation . . . was made, though not finished, at the Institution of the Holy Eucharist. 'Twas then that our Saviour actually offered Himself to God, under the Symbols of Bread broken, and Wine and Water poured out."[2]

Collier proceeded to urge that the Anglican Rite, as it now exists, even if it implies an Invocation of the Spirit, does not consider it the means of consecrating.

"If it is replied, the Invocated Blessing lies couched in these words: 'Grant that we, receiving these Thy

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[1] *Defence of the "Reasons,"* p. 103. [2] *Ibid.*

creatures of Bread and Wine, according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's Holy Institution,' etc., 'may be partakers of His most Blessed Body and Blood'; to this it may be objected that, whatever force these words may carry, they are not made necessary to Consecration by the Church of England's Rubric. For in the Rubrical Direction set after the Distribution of the Elements, 'tis ordered that if the Consecrated Bread or Wine be all spent before all have Communicated, the Priest is to consecrate more, according to the Form before prescribed; beginning at 'Our Saviour Christ, in the same night, etc., for the blessing of the Bread, and at 'Likewise after Supper,' etc., for the blessing of the Cup. Thus the Consecrating Form is wholly comprehended in the words of Institution, without any preceding or following Prayers. But do the Words of Institution mean any further than a bare Narration? than an Historical Report of what was done by our Saviour? And does the recital of the Words of Institution imply the performance of what the Institution commands? Does the Priest's saying, that Christ took Bread, blessed it, and brake it, and commanded His people to do the same; does the Priest's speaking these words import his own Breaking and Blessing? Those who drew up the present Form seem somewhat aware of this difficulty. They ordered the officiating Priest to take the Patten into his hands; and at the words 'He brake it,' the marginal Rubric directs him to break the Bread. But as to the Blessing part, there is nothing more than a Recital of what was done by our Saviour, in these words, 'and when He had given thanks.' Now, if the Institution is not fully observed by the Priest's saying Christ took Bread and brake it, unless he also takes the Bread and breaks it, the question will return, whether 'tis sufficient for the Priest to say that Christ Blessed and

gave thanks over the Bread, unless he does the same thing himself?" [1]

Collier further adds that, as to the Prayer of Oblation,

"which, in the first Reformed Liturgy, stands at the end of the Consecration; but in our present Office is partly omitted and partly transposed and removed to the Post-Communion; this Prayer, in the order in which it stood, goes upon the ground that the Holy Eucharist is a proper Sacrifice; and that for this reason it ought to be made before receiving the Consecrated Elements." [2]

With regard to the Prayer to the Holy Spirit, Collier professed himself "willing to believe that the Force of the Invocation may be implied in our present Office"; yet, besides the reasons which he gives for preferring the Form of the First Liturgy,

"it must be added that this implication, at best, is but dark, remote, and uncertain. And how far this, together with transposing the Oblatory Prayer to the Post-Communion: how far these undesirable circumstances may work to disadvantage it is not easy to determine." [3]

Collier also pointed out that

"as Archbishop Laud argues, the Order of public Prayers is sometimes a circumstance of weight, and affects the quality of the Service. . . . Regard to the Deity and Natural Religion," adds Collier, "will

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[1] *Defence of the "Reasons,"* pp. 109,110.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 111. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

teach us that Offering should be prior to Eating. This is evident from the very notion of a Sacrifice: for a Sacrifice is something offered to God. And if the Matter of the Sacrifice is eaten before it is offered, I desire to know whether the Definition and Essentials can agree with it." [1]

To the objection that such changes as Collier proposed might pave the way for injudicious persons of more zeal than understanding to go over to the Church of Rome, he replied that

"though he does not pretend to know how far injudicious persons, who overrate their own understandings, may ramble; yet he absolutely denies giving them any invitation to travel for Rome. On the other hand, he is firmly persuaded that the Revival of these things would add new strength to the English Reformation, and make it more unexceptionable. The keeping thus close to Primitive usage and belief would remove the Papists' most plausible objections; and this, one would think, should not be a likely course to pave a way to that Communion." [2]

The Office published by the Nonjurors in 1718 grouped together in the first part all that concerns the Offering, and in the second all that concerns the Receiving. The Offering consisted of the Narrative of the Institution, the Memorial of the Passion, Invocation of the Spirit, concluding with the Prayer for the Church—the great Intercession.

Then the Priest addresses the Invitation to

[1] Collier's *Vindication*, p. 148.
[2] p. 156.

those who care to receive, and the whole series of General Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, and Prayer of Humble Access naturally follow, and the actual reception takes place.

We find also that Manuals for use by the Congregation at Holy Communion have long attempted to supply the omissions of the English Rite. For example, Robert Nelson's *Great Duty of Frequenting the Christian Sacrifice* was in its twelfth edition in 1750.

This devotional book interpolates a private Prayer of Oblation immediately after the Consecration Prayer. English Church-people were here taught to pray : " Accept, O Eternal God, of that Representation we make before Thee of that all-sufficient Sacrifice which Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ made upon the Cross." [1]

[1] p. 98.

CHAPTER VI

The American Communion Service

WHEN Dr. Seabury was elected by the American Church for the episcopate, and sent from Connecticut to England to ask for consecration, a new chapter began in the history of the Scottish Communion Office. His biographer says that "the old policy of preferring political expediency to religious right still paralysed the energies of the Church of England." [1] And one important result of the American Church deriving its episcopate from Scotland was that the Scottish Communion Office determined the principles of the American liturgy.

Dr. Seabury was consecrated Bishop at Aberdeen in 1784 by Robert Kilgour, Primus of the Scottish Church, Bishop Skinner, the distinguished defender of the Scottish Liturgy, being one of the assistant Bishops.[2]

[1] Beardsley, *Life of Bishop Seabury*, 1884, p. 87.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

After the consecration, on the following day, an agreement between the Episcopal Church in Scotland and that in Connecticut was made between Bishop Seabury and the Scottish Bishops. This agreement contained the following article on the Eucharist.

"As the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, or the administration of the Body and Blood of Christ, is the principal bond of union among Christians, as well as the most solemn act of worship in the Christian Church, the Bishops aforesaid agree in desiring that there may be as little variance here as possible. And though the Scottish Bishops are very far from prescribing to their brethren in this matter, they cannot help ardently wishing that Bishop Seabury would endeavour all he can consistently with peace and prudence, to make the celebration of this venerable mystery conformable to the most primitive doctrine and practice in that respect; which is the pattern the Church of Scotland has copied after in her Communion Office, and which it has been the wish of some of the most eminent Divines of the Church of England, that she also had more closely followed than she seems to have done since she gave up her first Reformed Liturgy, used in the reign of King Edward VI, between which, and the form used in the Church of Scotland, there is no difference in any point which the primitive Church reckoned essential to the right ministration of the holy Eucharist. In this capital article therefore of the Eucharistic Service, in which the Scottish bishops so earnestly wish for as much unity as possible, Bishop Seabury also agrees to take a serious view of the Communion Office recommended by them, and if found agreeable to the genuine standards of antiquity to give his

sanction to it, and by gentle methods of argument and persuasion, to endeavour, as they have done, to introduce it by degrees into practice without the compulsion of authority on the one side, or the prejudice of false custom on the other." [1]

Bishop Seabury accordingly, in his diocese of Connecticut, intended to secure the use of the English Prayer Book with the Communion Service revised in harmony with the Scottish. This ideal he circulated as far as possible in America. To Churchmen in Philadelphia he wrote,

"That the most exceptionable part of the English Book is the Communion Office may be proved by a number of very respectable names among her clergy. The grand fault in that office is the deficiency of a more formal oblation of the elements and of the invocation of the Holy Ghost to sanctify and bless them. The consecration is made to consist merely in the Priest's laying his hands on the elements and pronouncing *This is My Body*, etc., which words are not consecrative at all, nor were they addressed by Christ to the Father, but were declarative to the Apostles. This is so exactly symbolizing with the Church of Rome in an error; an error, too, on which the absurdity of transubstantiation is built, that nothing but having fallen into the same error themselves could have prevented the enemies of the Church from casting it in her teeth. The efficacy of Baptism, of Confirmation, of Orders, is ascribed to the Holy Ghost, and His energy is implored for that purpose; and why He should not be invoked in the consecration of the Eucharist, especially as

[1] Beardsley, p. 129.

all the old liturgies are full to the point, I cannot conceive. It is much easier to account for the alterations of the first liturgy of Edward VI than to justify them, and as I have been told there is a vote on the minutes of your Convention anno 1786, I believe, for the revision of this matter, I hope it will be taken up, and that God will raise up some able and worthy advocate for this primitive practice, and make you and the Convention the instruments of restoring it to His Church in America. It would do you more honour in the world and contribute more to the union of the Churches than any other alterations you can make, and would restore the Holy Eucharist to its ancient dignity and efficacy." [1]

Bishop Seabury is said to have been so strongly convinced of the importance and primitive character of the Oblation and the Invocation of the Holy Spirit to consecrate the elements that he refused to celebrate according to the Anglican Rite.[2]

In the Office which Bishop Seabury authorized for the diocese of Connecticut the central prayer of Consecration was grouped in the following order : the Narrative of Institution, the Oblation of the Elements, the Invocation of the Holy Spirit.[3]

Bishop Seabury often reiterates the importance of this Revision in his letters. In answer to some mingivings he wrote as follows, in 1790 :

[1] Beardsley, p. 271. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 296.
[3] *Ibid.*, 296.

"With regard to the prayer which Mr. Smith uses at the Consecration of the Eucharist, I use the same myself, and after October next, it will be used throughout the United States. Nor can I see why the warmest friend of the Church of England should object to it. I have no wish to depreciate the Church of England. She has I believe few faults; but the prayer of Consecration in her Communion Office is deficient, even in the opinion of her ablest vindicators. I shall mention but one deficiency in her Consecration prayer, viz. that it is not put up to the Almighty Father through the mediation of Jesus Christ. I could mention more, but I had rather conceal than expose even the appearance of a blemish in a Church which I love and honour, and of which I profess myself a member. The prayer Mr. Smith uses is nearly the same with that in Edward VI's Prayer Book, composed by Cranmer, Ridley, etc., which was altered to its present form to please the Presbyterians of Geneva, Germany, and England, who gave encouragement that they would come into the Church on that ground; but were not as good as their word. I do not speak by guess when I say that a great number of the clergy and laity in England would rejoice to have the same prayer which you complain of in the English Book; and whenever it shall please God that they shall have another reform of the Prayer Book, it will most certainly take place." [1]

The General Convention of the American Episcopal Church of 1883 published the *Book Annexed*. It perpetuates the principles derived from the First Edwardine Liturgy,

[1] Beardsley, p. 307.

and received by the American Church through the Scottish Communion Office.

The Narrative of the Institution is followed by the Oblation of the Elements, then comes the Invocation,

"And we most humbly beseech Thee, O merciful Father, to hear us; and of Thy almighty goodness, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with Thy Word and Holy Spirit, these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine; that we, receiving them according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood."

Then follows the Anglican Prayer of Oblation.

CHAPTER VII

Criticisms during the Eighteenth Century

THE evidence of discontent with the present Communion Service during the eighteenth century is, as might be expected, neither equal in volume nor weight to that of the seventeenth. The evidence of the Nonjurors influenced the Church to a certain extent. But the Churchmen of the period did not concern themselves greatly with the Eucharistic doctrine of the ancient Church nor with its liturgical productions. Of course there were exceptions.

I

Learned men like Waterland and Bingham left on record their consciousness of differences between the liturgical expressions of the past and those of the English Church.

Bingham, in his *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, gave it as the result of his historical investigations that

"the Form of Consecration was always composed of a repetition of the Words of Institution and Prayer to God, to sanctify the gifts of His Holy Spirit."

Bingham said,

"Now this, anciently, was not a bare repetition of those words, 'This is My Body,' which, for many ages, has been the current doctrine of the Romish schools; but a repetition of the history of the Institution, together with prayers to God, that He would send His Holy Spirit upon the gifts, and make them become the Body and Blood of Christ."

Bingham also pointed out that

"immediately after the Consecration followed prayers for the whole Catholic Church, as redeemed by the precious Blood of Christ, which was then commemorated in the oblation and Sacrifice of the Altar."[1]

The inferences with regard to the English Rite were obvious.

Waterland had written that,

"In our Communion Service the Invocation is more obscurely intimated" [i.e. more obscurely than it is in the Baptismal Office] "under a few, and those general terms. Grant that we receiving these Thy creatures of Bread and Wine may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood. This was part of the ancient Invocation; and it expresses the Thing formerly prayed for, without specifying the particular manner or means, viz. the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit: Though that also must,

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[1] Bingham, v. 94 (bk. XV. ch. iii. p. xii.).

of course, be understood and implied upon Christian Principles, and taught in Scripture." [1]

Brett's remark on this passage in Waterland is,

"I believe, as the Doctor does, that this petition in our Consecration Prayer is thus to be understood, and therefore grant that our Liturgy wants nothing *necessary* to the due administration of this Holy Sacrament. But, then, it is so very obscurely intimated, that I believe very few observe or apprehend that these words imply what was formerly prayed for in the ancient Invocation. And for this reason, I cannot commend the wisdom of those who compiled our present Liturgy in so obscurely expressing a Christian principle taught in Scripture. And for that reason, think it the more necessary for us to acquaint our people, how the Holy Spirit operates in this Sacrament to make them to us the Body and Blood of Christ, that the Beneficial Effect may go along with them." [2]

Waterland also said that

"In the Liturgy of 1549, there was a formal address to God for His propitious favour (a very ancient, eminent and solemn part of the Communion Service), in these words: We, Thy humble servants do celebrate, and make here before Thy divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial, which Thy Son hath willed us to make, having in remembrance His blessed passion, mighty resurrection, etc. Why this part was struck out in the review I know not, unless it was owing to some scruple (which, however,

[1] Quoted in Brett, *Remarks on Waterland*, p. 91 (1738).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

was needless) about making the memorial before God, which at that time might appear to give some umbrage to the Popish sacrifice, among such as knew not how to distinguish. However that were, we still have the sum and substance of the primitive memorial remaining in our present office; not all in a place, but interspersed here and there, in the exhortations and prayers." [1]

Brett's remark upon this is that Waterland was forced to confess that the Commemoration of our Lord's Passion with an appeal to God for His propitious favour thereupon was a very ancient, eminent and solemn part of the Communion Service, and that such a formal application existed in King Edward's Liturgy of 1549.

"As therefore our present Communion Office has not (as the Doctor also confesses) any such direct formal application, I cannot but think that Communion Service in the first Liturgy of King Edward was more solemn and judicious, than that which the two learned and judicious Foreigners prevailed to have given us instead of it. For they so obscured the Invocation and Memorial that we are put to some pains (as the Doctor also confesses) to find them in our present office; however, since (as he also says) they must of course be understood and implied upon Christian Principles taught in Scripture, we may and ought to be satisfied with the present office, till we can get it amended by the same authority by which this is authorized." [2]

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[1] *Remarks on Waterland*, p. 94, and Skinner, *Illustrations of the Scottish Office*, p. 127.

[2] Brett on *Waterland*, p. 95.

To these may be added a passage from Scandret's book on Sacrifice, published in 1707, with an introduction by Charles Leslie, the Nonjuror. Scandret was a priest of the English Church.

"In the last place, it may be reasonably thought that many have been led into the ignorance of this Divine Service of God's Church by the passing away of some of the old Canon, with the Manual Rites and Ceremonies of the Christian Oblation, and by the intermission of this Holy Sacrifice from being the constant service on all Sundays and Holy Days; all which was thought fit to be done at the Reformation, especially by Queen Elizabeth's Book of Common Prayer. For the just violence of some men against the error of Transubstantiation made them jealous of any notion of a Sacrifice, and transported them, as it were, out of their sense and understanding; the Church being willing to condescend, as much as possible, to satisfy these weak members, and to retain them in its society and communion, laid aside the greatest part of the old Canon; . . . and although the Manual Ceremonies and Rites of the Christian Oblation were afterwards brought again into the Rubric, and used in the Church; yet this being not done, as I think, till the Restoration, their use since has not been effectual to scatter that mist and cloud of ignorance which arose from the former proceedings; and which too many then looked upon as intended to abolish the notion of the Christian Sacrifice out of our Church."[1]

"In the old Canon there is, 'We offer to Thy Excellent Majesty, of Thy own gifts, a pure Host an immaculate Host, the Holy Bread of eternal life

[1] Scandret, *Sacrifice*, p. 43 (1707).

and the Cup of eternal salvation.' . . . Which form of words, although not necessary to the performance of the Sacrifice, this being a worship rather of action than words, consisting, I mean, rather in what is done than what is said; yet some thought that the laying aside thereof was the laying aside the Christian Sacrifice." [1]

Another witness to the defects of our existing rite comes from the diocese of Sodor and Man, in the person of its saintly Bishop Wilson.

Bishop Wilson compiled:

"Private devotions at the altar, taken out of the most ancient offices of the Church; to render our present Communion Service more agreeable to Apostolic usage, and more acceptable (I hope) to God, and beneficial to all that partake thereof. Until it shall please Him to put it into the hearts and power of such as ought to do it, to restore to us the First Service of Edward VI or such as shall be more conformable to the appointment of Christ and His Apostles, and their successors. Which may the Divine Majesty vouchsafe to grant, for His sake Who first ordained the Holy Sacrament. Amen." [2]

Among the additions which Bishop Wilson made for the use of the communicant, until the restoration of the First Reformed Book, or of some other more conformable to ancient precedent, was the following prayer, to be said immediately after the Consecration—

"We offer unto Thee, our King and our God, this bread and this cup, . . . beseeching Thee to send down Thy Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice, that He

[1] Scandret, *Sacrifice*, p. 44.

[2] Bishop Wilson, *Sacra Privata*. *Works* v. 74.

may make this bread the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ." [1]

When Bishop Wilson published his *Short and Plain Instructions for the better understanding of the Lord's Supper, for the benefit of young Communicants*, he printed the Office of Holy Communion with interpolated prayers. And immediately after the Prayer of Consecration he inserted, to be said secretly, a prayer of Invocation of the Holy Spirit :

" Most merciful God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, look graciously upon the gifts now lying before Thee ; and send down Thy Holy Spirit on this sacrifice, that He may make this Bread and this Wine the Body and Blood of Thy Christ. . . ." [2]

Bishop Jolly, Bishop of Moray, writes concerning the first English Liturgy,

" The observation of Tertullian with respect to Divine Religion, ' the first is the best and truest,' was exemplified in the Reformation of England. Her first Liturgy can never be sufficiently admired, nor can the alteration of it, by the influence of foreign Reformers, be enough lamented. The worthy Fathers of England, however, her primitively-learned Prelates and Pastors, seem all along to have looked back to it with a wistful eye." [3]

II

A singular and very remarkable feature of the eighteenth century is the number of Forms for the Eucharist published by private indi-

[1] Bishop Wilson, *Sacra Privata, ibid.*

[2] *Ibid., Works* iv. 403.

[3] *The Church's Sacrifice*, edit. 3, p. 228.

viduals. Already Bishop Hickes had published an edition of the Book of 1549, and the Nonjurors had issued their own distinctive Communion Office. But the eighteenth century saw a whole series of new compilations: by Edward Stephens in 1696; by Whiston in 1713; by Henley in 1727; and by Deacon in 1734.

1. The Rev. Edward Stephens, formerly a lawyer and afterwards a priest of the Church of England, was a man of learning, acuteness and strong religious belief, not unmingled with eccentricity. He informed the Lower House of Convocation that the Cranmerian liturgy (meaning the second Book) had been the pest of this nation. He reminded Churchmen that "in the due Consecration of the Eucharist it hath always been believed in the Catholic Church that there is a special *sanctification of the elements* of Bread and Wine by the descent of the Holy Spirit at the Prayer of the Church." He argued that in the putting out of that Prayer there was "disrespect thereby done to the Holy Spirit, by Whom the Oblation should be sanctified, and by Whose aid the former book was declared to have been composed." There was also thereby a depriving of the Church of the benefit of that prayer, and "making the consecration at least doubtful." [1] He insisted that the

[1] See *Collection of Tracts and Papers*, 1702.

Eucharist required "the Oblation of the creatures sanctified in commemoration of the Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross, the great Propitiation for the sins of the world, by which alone we have access into and acceptance with the Father," "so that the Oblation of the Memorials of His Son's Passion is a solemn actual allegation of his Covenant."

Contrasting together what he calls "the true English liturgy, and the deformed, disordered Cranmerian changeling by which it was supplanted," Edward Stephens observes that the First Book of Edward VI is declared by statute to have been "by the aid of the Holy Ghost with one uniform Agreement of them concluded and set forth"; and again, "a godly order agreeable to the order of the Primitive Church," and that "the doubts risen in the use and exercise of it were rather by the curiosity of the ministers and mistakers, than of any other worthy cause."

As to the second Book Stephens asserts that "it is not such a godly order, but the former godly order disordered, absurdly inverted, interrupted with impertinences, maimed and dismembered in some of the principal and essential parts of that Office"; "that it is not agreeable to the order of the Primitive Church; that it was not concluded by the aid of the Holy Ghost; and that it has not been profitable to the state of the Nation."

Stephens drew up a Service which he called the Liturgy of the Ancients, represented as near as well may be in English Forms. In this Eucharistic Office Stephens grouped together as the central prayer our present prayer for the Church Militant (with alterations), followed by the Prayer of Consecration, containing first an Invocation of the Holy Spirit and the record of the Institution. The Invocation is :

"Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee, and of Thy abundant goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with Thy Word and Holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ; so that we receiving them, according to His holy Institution, in Remembrance of His Death and Passion, and Recognition of our Redemption thereby, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood."

Then after the Narrative of the Institution follows the Memorial or Prayer of Oblation. Then comes a long series of Intercessions from the Litany. And then the Lord's Prayer.

But while Stephens in this way restored the Eucharistic Canon of the Offering he left the parts of the Service which relate to the reception dispersed. Thus the Invitation, General Confession, Absolution and Comfortable Words are placed before the Canon,

while the Prayer of Humble Access is placed after it.

Stephens drew up also another Eucharistic Service, which he called "a complete and unexceptionable form of Liturgy." This is drawn up with no reference to the English Office and from various ancient sources.

Stephens circulated his English Form of the Liturgy of the Ancients among a good many religious people, and met with considerable approval. He says,

"I presented it to some of the principal learned men, first of the English, who much approved it, and wished it restored by law; then of the Lutherans, who also approved it, and declared their satisfaction to communicate in that Form; and, at last, of the Roman Catholicks, who had no exceptions to the Matter or Form of it."[1]

Stephens is said to have used this Liturgy for his congregation

"openly in London for many years together, to his own and his congregation's great comfort and satisfaction. Nay, the very learned and pious Dr. Grabe was so great an admirer of the same ecclesiastical form, that while he durst not receive the Communion in public, on account of its present deviation from all the primitive liturgies, in some part of that celebration, he did it to his great joy and satisfaction with Mr. Stephens, in that particular congregation."[2]

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[1] Preface to Pamphlet on *Prayers for the Dead*, last page.

[2] William Whiston, Preface to his *Liturgy*.

2. William Whiston's Liturgy is dated 1713. It is a singular fact, considering his theological opinions, that Whiston should have undertaken to compile a form of Eucharistic devotion on strictly Catholic lines.

Whiston expressed great admiration for the first Edwardine Liturgy :

"that original and much better Liturgy which our pious Reformers, upon mature consideration and consultation of the old books of our religion, drew up and made use of in the first and best period of the Reformation, under King Edward VI. This noble Liturgy, which is for the main so undoubtedly supported by the most ancient records of Christianity, was indeed forced in a few years to give place to a second, much like that which we now use ; but was then plainly altered, out of human prudence, and out of compliance with Calvin, and other foreigners, and was imposed on the Church by a bare temporal authority ; and indeed was thereby rendered so unlike in many things to the former, and to any of the old Liturgies of the Church, that no wonder if that was a great blow on the Reformation. . . ."[1]

Whiston's Communion Service had its own distinctive qualities. Whiston introduces a Rubric ruling that "no part of this Service is ever to be used but when there is a Communion." He set the Invitation and Comfortable Words before the Prayer for the Church Militant. He left the Prayer of Humble Access before the Consecration Prayer.

[1] Hall, *Fragmenta Liturgica*, Vol. iii, Whiston's Preface, p. 4.

In the Consecration Prayer he inserted an Invocation of the Holy Spirit, and added the Prayer of Oblation at its close.

3. Henley published his Liturgy in the year 1727. He claimed that the Church of England, according to its principles, appeals to the standard of worship in the Primitive Church, but that in practice it contradicted its principles.[1] He took as his standard the Liturgy in the Apostolical Constitutions. He insisted that the main points in which all the ancient liturgies concur and which therefore are the undoubted Primitive form of the Eucharist, are the Eucharistic Thanksgiving, the Oblation of the Elements to God, the Invocation for the descent of the Holy Ghost to make them the body and blood of Christ, the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church, and the Distribution.[2]

Testing the Communion Service of the Church of England by this ideal, he remarks that,

"The present Communion Office of the Church of England, which entirely departs from it, was altered from a model of this kind by Parliament, without a Convocation, to please Calvin and his friends at a political juncture: whereas the keeping or restoring this form would be most likely to gain over both the Dissenters and the Roman Catholics; for all would choose a primitive method, were all convinced which

[1] Hall, *ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 76. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

was that method. And accordingly this agreement with the Ancient Church has been, and is, the wish of the most learned and serious men ever since the Reformation." [1]

Henley therefore put together in sequence the Narrative of the Institution, the Oblation of the Elements, the Invocation of the Spirit, and the Prayer for the whole Church.[2]

4. Deacon, who was one of the last survivors of the Nonjurors, published his Devotions in 1734. Like Henley he followed the Liturgy of the Apostolical Constitutions. His work has all the Eastern exuberance which is so foreign to the English as it is to the Western use. But it meant the restoration of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit and of the Offering of the consecrated elements in the fulness of ancient terms.

III

The next writer to be mentioned is Wheatly, author of the *Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer.* He is one of the earliest and most distinguished of the series of expositors of the Prayer Book. His work had an extensive circulation since its appearance at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The principle of his work is important.

[1] Hall, *Fragmenta Liturgica,* vol. iv., p. 139.
[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 158–162.

He conceived that the proper way to appreciate our Communion Service was to compare it as it stands at present with the first Prayer Book of Edward VI.

Writing on the Prayer of Consecration he calls attention to the fact that

"our Saviour Himself did not deliver this bread and wine until He had consecrated them by *blessing them* and giving *thanks*. So that this prayer is the most ancient and essential part of the whole Communion Office; . . . But besides this, there was always inserted in the primitive forms a particular petition for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Sacramental Elements, which was also continued in the first Liturgy of King Edward VI. Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech Thee, and with Thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and to sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, Who in the same night, etc. This upon the scruples of Bucer (whom I am sorry I have so often occasion to name) was left out at the revision in the fifth of King Edward; and the following sentence, which he was pleased to allow of, inserted in its stead, viz. Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee, and grant that we receiving these Thy creatures of Bread and Wine, according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy Institution, in remembrance of His Death and Passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood, Who in the same night, etc. In these words, it is true, the sense of the former is still implied, and consequently by these the Elements are now consecrated, and so become the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ.

"In the Rubric indeed, after the form of Administration, the Church seems to suppose that the Consecration is made by the words of Institution: for there it says that if the consecrated Bread and Wine be all spent before all have communicated, the Priest is to consecrate more according to the form before prescribed, beginning at [our Saviour Christ in the same night, etc.] for the blessing of the Bread; and at [likewise after supper, etc.] for the blessing of the Cup. This rubric was added in the last revision: but to what end, unless to save the Minister some time, does not appear. But what is very remarkable is, that it was taken from the Scotch Liturgy, which expressly calls the words of Institution the words of Consecration; though the compilers of it had restored the sentence that had been thrown out of King Edward's second Common Prayer, and united it with the clause in our present Liturgy, imagining, one would think, that the Elements were not consecrated without them. For though all Churches in the world have, through all ages, used the words of Institution at the time of Consecration, yet none, I believe, except the Church of Rome, ever before attributed the Consecration to the bare pronouncing of those words only: that was always attributed, by the most ancient fathers, to the prayer of the Church. The Lutherans and Calvinists, indeed, both agree with the Papists, that the Consecration is made by the bare repeating the words of Institution; the reason perhaps of which is, because the words of Institution are the only words recorded by the Evangelists and St. Paul, as spoken by our Saviour, when He admintered it to His disciples. But then it should be considered, that it is plain enough that our Saviour used other words upon the same occasion, though the very words are not recorded: for the Evan-

gelists tell us that He *gave thanks and blessed* the Bread and Wine: and this sure must have been done in other words than those which He spoke at the delivery of them to His disciples: for blessing and thanksgiving must be performed by some words that are addressed to God, and not by any words directed to men: and therefore the words which our Saviour spake to His disciples could not be the whole Consecration of the Elements, but rather a declaration of the effect which was produced by His consecrating or blessing them. And therefore I humbly presume, that if the Minister should at the consecration of fresh Elements, after the others are spent, repeat again the whole form of Consecration, or at least from those words, *Hear us, O merciful Father*, etc., he would answer the end of the rubric, which seems only to require the latter part of the form from those words, *who in the same night*, be always used at such Consecration." [1]

IV

To these must be added the criticisms of John Ernest Grabe, whose case is one of exceptional interest. Grabe was a Lutheran who by the study of the Fathers was led to Catholic ideals. He passed from Königsberg to Berlin; but his persistent belief in the doctrine of the Apostolic succession prompted the Lutherans to advise his departure for England. He was ordained a priest in the English Church.

"He had so great a zeal for promoting the ancient government and discipline of the Church, among all

[1] Ch. vi. Sect. xxii.

those who separated themselves from the corruptions and superstitions of the Church of Rome, that he formed a plan, and made some advances in it, for restoring the episcopal order and office in the territories of the King of Prussia, his sovereign; and proposed, moreover, to introduce a Liturgy, much after the model of the English Service, into that King's dominions." [1]

But while Grabe was a firm believer in Anglican orders, he had serious difficulties about the Anglican form of Eucharist now in use. His patristic and liturgical studies convinced him of the marked inferiority of the present English Communion Service. In his notes on Justin Martyr he refers to the universal custom of the ancient liturgies to make an offering of the Eucharistic elements to God, and to pray for their consecration by the Holy Spirit. Grabe notes that the same custom existed in the First Reformed Anglican Liturgy, and also in the Scottish. He marks with decided approval the agreement of the Liturgy of 1549 with the ancient use. It was his intention had he lived to publish an edition of the first Edwardian Book,

"with annotations of the use of it; namely, to show how near the first Reformers of the Church of England kept to the primitive institution of Jesus Christ, and the practice of His immediate followers the Holy Apostles, and the ancient Christians." [2]

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[1] Robert Nelson, *Life of Bishop Bull*, p. 344.
[2] See Brett's *Introduction*, p. xxiii.

Grabe wrote a Treatise on the Consecration of the Eucharist, in which he inferred from the ancient liturgies

"that the holy Apostles and Fathers who compiled them, did not believe the Consecration of the Eucharist to be perfected and finished by the mere recital of Christ's Words; for if the Sacramental Symbols are fully consecrated and changed into the Body and Blood of Christ by that recital, it is to no purpose after those Words of Christ are pronounced to beg, pray and earnestly to beseech God to send down His holy Spirit from above, that He may sanctify, consecrate and transmute the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ; nay, those elements which are already changed and made the Body and Blood of our Lord cannot again be changed and made such."[1]

Grabe further held that

"the Oblation of Bread and Wine to God the Father partly to agnize Him as the Creator and Supreme Lord of all the world, partly to commemorate and represent before Him the Oblation of Christ's Body and Blood on the Cross, to the intent that He might be propitious to them that offered and for whom it was offered and make them partakers of all the benefits of Christ's Passion: such action, I say, hath in all Christian Churches throughout all the world, ever been performed by Catholic priests, even in the Apostles' time, as also by the heretics that had any Eucharist; and hath been observed under that notion that Christ did it Himself, in the first Institution of that holy Sacrament.

"Therefore such an Oblation is of Apostolical tra-

[1] P. 17.

dition, and instituted by Christ, although it not in plain terms is recorded by the holy Evangelists; and ought therefore still devoutly to be observed in the celebration of the Holy Mystery."[1]

"To the due Consecration of the Bread and Wine mixed with water as the Matter of this Sacrament, is required a determined special form of words, or prayer, or both. I say a special Form, and a determined one, if not in sound, yet in sense, perfect. For I do not think that a vague general mention of Christ's sufferings, and a thanksgiving to God for them, with prayer to make us partakers of the benefits of the same, will consecrate the Bread and Wine into Christ's Body and Blood or make them a Sacrament of the same. At least I do not see how any one can be so sure as one ought to be in this matter that such a thanksgiving and prayer is valid and sufficient to the said consecration, . . .[1]

"If the Form by which the Eucharistical Bread and Wine are made the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood were only the Words of our Saviour, This is My Body, This is My Blood, rehearsed and pronounced over them by the priest, as the Church of Rome and some of the Protestants, especially the Lutherans, do teach; then no objection could be made against the form of consecration of the Holy Eucharist in the Church of England, since she expressly commandeth and directeth in the Rubric that no Bread and Wine shall be given to the Communicants as Sacramental, but over which the aforesaid Words have been pronounced by the priest. But I have proved . . . that the Consecration of the Eucharistical Symbols is performed not, or not only, by the rehearsal of the aforesaid words of Christ, but chiefly, if not only, by the prayer of the

[1] P. 74. [1] P. 85.

priest or minister as the Greek Church and some of the Protestant, especially those who are called Calvinists . . . do assert." [1]

Grabe held these opinions on the necessity of explicit invocation of the Holy Spirit, but he had grave misgivings as to the validity of the English Rite. He therefore felt himself driven to seek the sacred gift where the Eucharist was celebrated more completely in accordance with ancient precedent.

We have already seen that he had no hesitation in communicating when the liturgy drawn up by Stephens was used in London.

He also communicated among the Nonjurors according to the First Liturgy of Edward VI.

"at his death he made choice of the Right Reverend and very learned Bishop George Hickes for his Confessor, from whose hands he received the Holy Eucharist, the last time of his life, as he had done several times before, according to the first Liturgy of King Edward the VIth, for he did not care to communicate by the present Liturgy, as believing it to be defective in several parts of that office, and looking upon the other as approaching nearer to the Primitive Forms by reason of the Mixture, the Invocation of the Father for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Elements, the Oblation rightly placed, and Prayers for the Dead. And Bishop Hickes never gave him the Eucharist by any other form." [2]

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[1] P. 86.

[2] Campbell, *Doctrine of a Middle State*, 1721, p. 79.

Grabe died in 1711, and his Treatise on the form of Eucharistic Consecration was published after his death. It is of interest and importance as a serious attempt in England to study the principles and method of Consecration: although there is truth in the estimate formed about him that he was learned and laborious but not endowed with critical insight of any exceptional kind. Nevertheless he adds one more to the list of liturgical students who keenly felt the deficiencies of the English Communion Service of 1552.

CHAPTER VIII

Criticisms during the Nineteenth Century

CRITICISM of the English Consecration Prayer greatly increased in volume puring the nineteenth century : partly because attention was given in an unprecedented degree to Eucharistic observance ; and partly because liturgical study became more prevalent. The number of English liturgical students in the nineteenth century is remarkable. The doctrine of the Eucharist in the early centuries became a subject of especial study. The sacrificial character of the Eucharist became recognized as deeply ingrained in the belief of ancient Christendom. And all these revivals of learning necessarily encouraged a critical comparison of the main features of the Anglican Rite with the doctrine and practice of the past.

1. The beginnings of nineteenth century Eucharistic criticism may be found in the pages

of Alexander Knox, Secretary to Lord Castlereagh in Ireland. Knox died in 1831. His literary labours were published in four volumes in 1844. Archbishop Maclagan republished a selection from his writings in 1905. Knox was an ardent Churchman of Wesleyan antecedents and deep piety.

1. Alexander Knox considered the arrangement of our Liturgy anomalous, and submits to anomalies as providential. It is probable that many will agree with the description of the order of the prayers as anomalous, while few will ascribe the arrangement to providential overruling.

"As I have said above, I have no quarrel with the Articles. I do not think they are perfect. I could wish some expressions in them altered, were it possible; but that being impossible, I submit to that which I regard the appointment of Providence. I have the same submission to exercise respecting some of the added parts of the Liturgy, particularly in the Communion Service; the departure of which, from the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, I could cordially regret, were I not both rationally and religiously convinced that all was ordered by an higher hand; and, of course, in the way fitted for the destined purpose."[1]

2. There is a criticism by a Scottish layman of the first half of the nineteenth century upon the place now assigned to the Prayer of Obla-

[1] Alexander Knox, *Remains*, iii. 64.

tion, which is remarkable for its severity. After contrasting the place occupied by that Prayer in Edward's First Book, he goes on to say,

"But only three years after, at the suggestion of foreign Protestants, this prayer was in great part altogether omitted, and what was left transferred to the post-Communion Office, for the express purpose of excluding this doctrine" [i.e. of the Offering], "where it still remains a witness against Catholic doctrine and Catholic practice."[1]

Among the reasons given for this severe criticism are the following :

"First, then, I lay it down as a maxim founded not only on the Liturgies of the Christian Church but on the practice of every nation under heaven, and which I presume none will dispute, that the Oblation must precede the Communion ; we cannot in any sense give to God what we have already eaten, nor feast upon a sacrifice which is not yet offered. Secondly, I have shown that the Christian Sacrifice is offered verbally ; it must not be left to the intention of the priest, nor does it consist in any rites, as did the old sacrifices ; for the bread and wine are already on the altar."[2]

3. The Irvingite Prayer Book has an important bearing as an evidence of dissatisfaction with the Anglican Communion Service. For they adopted our Litany bodily. But they

[1] *The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist*, by A Layman, 1844, p. 160.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

declined to accept our Communion Service. The Irvingite Consecration Prayer is most remarkable in its agreement with earlier liturgical principles. It begins,

"'Look upon us, O God, and bless and sanctify this bread. In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, we bless ✠ this bread; and we beseech Thee, heavenly Father, to send down Thy Holy Spirit, and make it unto us the Body of Thy Son Jesus Christ, Who in the same night in which He was betrayed took bread," etc.

The act of consecration is clearly ascribed to the words, "This is My Body," for they are printed in large capitals. A similar invocation is made before consecrating the chalice. Immediately after this comes the Prayer of Oblation, expressly so named.

"Almighty God, we, Thy servants, calling to mind the most blessed Sacrifice of Thy Son; showing forth His death, rejoicing in His resurrection and glorious presence at Thy right hand, and waiting for the blessed hope of His appearing and coming again, do present unto Thee this reasonable and unbloody Sacrifice which Thou hast instituted in Thy Church; the Holy Bread of Everlasting Life, and the Cup of Eternal Salvation. Whereupon do Thou look, and accept them upon Thine altar, before Thy glorious high throne in heaven: have respect unto that Sacrifice once offered upon the cross, once for all, for the sins of the whole world, full, perfect, and sufficient; and grant unto us, and unto all Thy people, the full benefits of the passion of Thy dear Son, remission of all our sins, and eternal life.

"Which things, O Lord, we seek for all in the com-

munion of Thy Holy Church; for whom, and for all for whom Thou wouldest be besought, we offer this our Sacrifice, and present to Thee our prayers."

4. Bishop Forbes of Brechin, in his primary Charge in 1858, wrote as follows:

"I have no sympathy with those few earnest men who scruple to use the English Office, nor with those who look upon the question as a national one. I use the English Office constantly myself; I believe its Consecration is valid, and in validity there can be no question of degree. As it stands at present, I regard it as a sad mutilation of the first Office of the Reformers; as an Eucharistic Service 'more marred than any,' but still, thanks be to God, preserving all the essentials of a true Sacrament. But, positively, I feel that we have duties to the Scottish Form, for which we must be content to bear and suffer much." [1]

5. Discussing the exact relation in which the Book of 1552 stood to the former Book of 1549, Freeman, in his *Principles of Divine Service,* says that

"the one decisive consideration, by which all men's doubts must be absolutely ruled, is that the Second Book *adopted as its basis,* without any qualification or reserve whatever, *the doctrinal positions of the First.* The statute [Act of Uniformity, 5 & 6 Edw. VI, c. 1] by which it was authorized, in a preamble, doubtless proceeding from the divines who conducted the Revision, completely endorses the earlier Book in all respects, declaring it to be 'a very Godly order,

[1] *Primary Charge of Bishop Forbes* (*Brechin*), 1858, p. 57.

agreeable to the Word of God and the Primitive Church.' This recommendation, it has been well observed, 'is given without abatement. There is no stroke of censure, no charge of superstition, no blemish either with respect to doctrine or ceremonial thrown upon it' [Collier]. Whatever expressions, therefore, may have been withdrawn or modified in the Second Book, we are absolutely precluded from interpreting this as a contravention or abandonment of any doctrine contained in the First. Whatever in it is ambiguous must be interpreted, whatever is wanting must be supplied, by reference to the mind and contents of the Offices as originally revised. There is in reality no escape from this conclusion. And there is the less difficulty in acquiescing in it, since we can very sufficiently account for, whether we can altogether justify or not, the alterations made."[1]

Freeman defended the changes which were made in the subsequent Revision of the Eucharistic Office; chiefly on the ground that they gave immense emphasis to the theory that consecration is effected by rehearsal of the institutive words and actions of Christ. But he added:

"It might be well that there were direct expression, both of memorial and invocation, in our present Rite; but this is all that can be alleged. As to oblation, again, the *verbal* expression is thrown back entirely to the 'oblation,' technically so called, where the Elements are first placed upon the altar. But the fact that the oblation *is* there expressly made, fully certifies to the sacrificial intent of the

[1] Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*. Introduction to pt. ii., p. 124.

whole action. In respect both of this and the memorial, therefore, if we desire, as reasonably we may, public expression, it is not from any shadow of doubt that can be entertained as to the nature of that which our Church designs to do, but only as being more *didactic*, and precluding misconstruction." [1]

6. The Rev. F. Lee, of Lambeth, wrote,

"It is much to be desired that the former of these collects were put back into the place which it occupied in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, between the consecration and administration, where Bishop Overall always insisted on saying it, and as it is in Laud's Prayer Book."[2]

7. In 1866 Orby Shipley published an edition of the Liturgies of 1549 and 1662 with an Introduction, in which he says, comparing these two Liturgies together,

"Of course the greatest variation between the two occurs in the central portion of the Office, the Canon; and in the Caroline Office the threefold divisions of the Consecration as they existed under the First Book of Edward VI, to wit, the Prayer for Christ's Church, the Consecration proper, and the Oblation of the Sacrifice with the Lord's Prayer, have been divided and placed apart. The ultimate destination of the several parts need not to be told: but the Canon of 1549 was still further deprived of its component parts; and the Invitation, the Confession, and Absolution, the Comfortable Words, and the Prayer of Humble Access have been removed backward into the second division of the Office, the

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 434.

[2] Lee, *Directorium Anglicanum*, ed. iii. p. 84.

Oblation. This leaves the Canon of 1662, so far as its ritual is concerned, to consist of a single prayer, the Act of Consecration.

"This is the most serious dislocation in the Liturgy of 1662." [1]

After noting in detail various alterations, he proceeds :

"These changes and variations must be borne in mind in considering any reconstruction of our present Liturgy. Such reconstruction may be hypothetical or actual. In theory we could not do better, taking the Office in its entirety, than to recast the Liturgy of Charles II in conformity with the First Book of Edward VI. In practice, and taking into account present circumstances and past custom, many variations from the earlier form having become almost national usage, it would be impossible to effect some alterations, though good in themselves, perhaps unwise to attempt it. The present position of the Gloria in Excelsis is one such peculiarity. When sung it now forms a grand act of Eucharistic adoration at the end of a high celebration. The recitation of the Law is another use which has become national; and however anomalous its position, the reading of the Commandments may be defended on ritual and typical grounds, whilst æsthetically it gives scope for a far more developed use of the *Kyries* than could be profitably attained if they were recited, as of old, continuously, and in different forms, nine times without a break. Whether or not the Beatitudes of the New Law might not with advantage, at certain seasons, and at the direction of the Priest, be em-

[1] *The Liturgies of* 1549 *and* 1662, edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley (1866), p. xiv.

ployed, or the summary of both Laws in the Words of our Blessed Lord, with suitable responses in either case, is a subject worthy of consideration. The division again of the Canon, so far as the Prayer for the Church Militant is concerned, however much such dislocation be deplored, is almost past remedy; though even here a very slight transposition would restore the Invitation, Confession, Absolution, together with the Comfortable Words and Prayer of Humble Access to their legitimate place after Consecration and before Communion. And the good effect of such a rearrangement will be obvious, if the language of the last-named prayer be considered with special reference to the position it would then assume." [1]

Orby Shipley concludes,

"It may be interesting to some persons to learn, that although under existing circumstances any alteration in the Prayer Book is deprecated by the Church party, yet, if a revision of our Offices be determined upon by the only authority we can admit, a large and powerful body composed of laymen and clergymen, will exert its influence to secure a restoration of our present Book of Common Prayer in conformity with the First Book of King Edward VI." [2]

8. Speaking of the Prayer of Invocation, the liturgical student Sprott says that

Such a prayer is primitive and Eastern, but not Roman; it is thought essential by the Church of

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[1] Orby Shipley, p. xvi. [2] *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

Scotland, and to this day the want of it in the English Prayer Book is spoken of among us as a very serious defect."[1]

9. Berdmore Compton, in his book on the Catholic Sacrifice, is another witness to the desire of Churchmen to see the prayer of Oblation restored.

"Three years after the promulgation of the first complete English Prayer Book containing this Liturgy of 1549, the increasing influence of certain foreigners effected a great change in our office. These men cared but little for any bond of connexion between the Church of England and the universal Church of Christ, still less for any assimilation of our Liturgy to the ancient Liturgies; and, to use the words of our present Prayer Book, 'were not satisfied with anything that can be done in this kind by any other than themselves.' They boldly, not to say audaciously, cut up into three parts the ancient Eucharistic prayer. The first part, the intercession for the Church, they removed from its place of honour, and disconnecting it from the definite sacrificial act, with which it is emphatically connected as a privileged participation in the great intercessory function of our glorified Lord, they transplanted it to the introductory part of the office, as a separate prayer for the Church militant here in earth, utterly removing the affectionate commemoration of the departed.

"The second part, the Invocation of blessing on, and sanctification of, the Bread and Wine to be

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[1] Sprott, *Scottish Liturgies*, p. lxviii, already quoted on p. 30.

unto us the Body and Blood of the Lord, they cut out altogether.

"The third part, the commemoration of Institution, they were overruled to let alone.

"The fourth part, the act of Oblation, they cut off, turned as well as they could into an act of distinctively *verbal* thanksgiving, and then transplanted it into the concluding part of the office, thus actually obliterating, as far as they could, the inward and spiritual oblation of the Catholic Sacrifice; or expressing it, if expressed at all, long after the outward oblation, which sacramentally conveys it, is finished and done with; after that outward oblation has been accepted, infinitely exalted, returned and consumed!

"With this office the Church struggled on. Hard it must have been to keep alive any fragments of Eucharistic truth, when its expression had been thus marred and defaced! . . . So we are brought to the days of the Caroline theology, to the period of the Restoration. The revisers of 1662 were men of true Catholic mind. . . . They had to take in hand the restoration of a Catholic Liturgy after the chaos of the great Rebellion. . . . They had to take in hand the restoration of the great Catholic Sacrifice of the Church of Christ. They had before them the fact that the Liturgy of 1549, and especially its central portion, the great Eucharistic act of intercession, invocation, commemoration, and oblation, had been torn into three parts, and completely dislocated, by the dominant Puritan party a hundred years before.

"It is impossible to avoid recognizing as an historical fact, that the restoration of the true pattern of Eucharistic action, as set forth in our first Reformed English Liturgy, the book of 1549, was the desire of their hearts; a desire, alas, which they

were not allowed to reach. They did what they could; but the ignorance of Eucharistic truth, and of the doctrine of sacrifice, the prejudice grown up against it during the hundred years of its obscurity, were too strong for them, and they were obliged to acquiesce in the continued dislocation of the great Eucharistic prayer, and to hope for better days, when the doctrine of the Catholic Sacrifice would be better known, and could be plainly asserted. So we inherit their great and noble work, with its great and noble hopes. So we still preserve in our office the separated members of the primitive and Catholic Eucharistic prayer, so mangled as to require, as has been said, careful comparison with the office of 1548 to recognize them.

"We have lost the prayer for the consecrating action of the Holy Spirit, properly so called. We retain in its right place the commemoration of the Institution. We retain, in a wrong place, the intercession for the Church (to which the Churchmen of 1662 were able to add an oblation of the outward elements of Bread and Wine, and to restore the commemoration of the departed saints, while they were obliged to keep the exclusive title of a prayer for the whole state of the Church militant *here in earth*). We retain, in a very wrong place, the substance of the act of oblation. We can hardly use it where it stands in the post-Communion office; but it is something to preserve it for future restoration to its right place.

"And may we not here indulge in the bright thought, Are these our days the days seen in the distance by the far-seeing revisers of 1662? when the gospel truth of the Catholic Sacrifice, the material reality of the Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving, can, through a severe struggle, emerge from its present obscurity, can not only be fearlessly and

plainly preached, but again recovered for, and exhibited in, our offices ? "[1]

10. Scudamore's remarks on the Prayer of Oblation are of a character unusual among writers on the subject. Referring to the First form of Thanksgiving after Reception, he says that

" This prayer, with some additional clauses, follows, or forms part of, the Memorial or Prayer of Oblation in I. B. E. and the Scotch Liturgy. In the American it follows the Invocation (which there comes after the words of Institution and Oblation) with little more than the necessary change of tense ; as ' Humbly beseeching Thee that we, and all others who *shall be* partakers of this Holy Communion,' etc. By some writers of credit it has itself been called the Prayer of Oblation of the English Liturgy. This, however, is a mistake. If such had been the intention, it is very improbable that it would have been put in the post-Communion, and it is certain that its use would not have been left to the option of the celebrant. It is, therefore, more true to say, that in this prayer the Church rather recognizes an oblation in the Eucharist than makes it. We may observe also, that although this prayer, asking, as it does, for the acceptance of the present Sacrifice, might indeed be used for a Prayer of Oblation, it does not, like the best ancient models of that prayer, express the relation of the Sacrament to the one proper Sacrifice on the Cross. In 1661 it was proposed by Cosin to prefix to it a memorial of the Passion, and to place the whole after the Prayer of

[1] Berdmore Compton, *The Catholic Sacrifice*, 1875, pp. 133–138.

Consecration, as in I. B. E. and the Scotch Liturgy, headed by the rubric: '*Immediately after shall follow this Memorial or Prayer of Oblation.*' That this was proposed and not done is another reason for withholding that name from the prayer in its present state and position."[1]

11. The Rev. P. G. Medd, who together with Canon Bright translated the Prayer Book into Latin, published, in 1876, an edition of the Prayer Book of 1549. In the introduction he says that

"It is much to be regretted that a work so truly Catholic and Primitive (especially in its most important portion, the Communion Service) as this noble product of the genuine English Reformation [the Prayer Book of 1549] should not have been tested by a longer use than during only three years. The opposition to it was led by the extremer school of Reformers, headed by the impracticable Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, and the foreigners Laski, or John à Lasco, Poullain, Peter Martyr, and Bucer, who came to England after Edward's accession,. . ."[2]

"And if there be some (there are many) amongst us, both clergy and laity, who think the Communion Office of 1549 the true model of a genuine English Liturgy, and would be thankful for leave for its occasional use, together with, not in substitution for, our present Liturgy, we should not be without precedent among the most honoured names of English theology."[3]

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[1] Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, 1876, p. 770.

[2] Medd, *Introduction to First Prayer Book of Edward VI*, p. xiii. (1876).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

12. In a book called *Incense for Jesus at the Daily Sacrifice*, a manual of Eucharistic and general devotions for both priest and people, compiled by the Rev. Hugh Percy Armette, and printed for private circulation in 1879, there is interpolated before the Prayer of Consecration, the following :

"Most merciful Father, we humbly pray and beseech Thee, through Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, that Thou wouldest accept and bless these ✠ gifts, these ✠ offerings, this ✠ pure and holy Sacrifice, which we offer unto Thee: and that Thou wouldest dispose our days in Thy peace, and deliver us from eternal damnation, and bid us be numbered with the Flock of Thine Elect; through Christ our Lord. Amen. [*Sarum.*]

"We beseech Thee, O Lord, to bless, sanctify, and accept this Oblation, that it may become unto us the Body ✠ and Blood ✠ of Thy well-beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.

"[*Or this*]

"Most merciful God, look graciously upon the gifts now lying before Thee, and send down Thy Holy Spirit upon this Sacrifice; that He may make this Bread the Body of Thy Christ, and this Cup the Blood of Thy Christ. Amen."

Later on we find that

"immediately after the Prayer of Consecration may be said secretly the Oblation.

"Wherefore, O Lord and Heavenly Father, according to the Institution of Thy dearly-beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy Holy gifts which we now

offer unto Thee, the Memorial Thy Son hath commanded us to make; having in remembrance His Blessed Passion and Precious Death, His mighty Resurrection and glorious Ascension; rendering unto Thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same." [1]

13. Bishop Dowden, of Edinburgh, criticizing our English Consecration Prayer in 1884, wrote,

"The part of the English Prayer of Consecration which approaches nearest to the Prayer of Invocation, in fact, the only part that is a *prayer*, runs as follows: 'Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee; and grant that we receiving these Thy creatures of bread and wine, according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood. It is said that the prayer for God's blessing to make the bread and wine the Body and Blood of Christ to us is here *implicitly* present; and I have no desire to subject the statement to any close analytical examination. The intention of the Church of England was, no doubt, to do, in the celebration of the Eucharist, what Christ did. He would be a bold man who would venture to maintain that all the blessings of the Sacrament may not be given, through God's infinitely gracious bounty, where there exists the intention to do as Christ commanded. But certainly, pointing to the Scottish Liturgy, we may say, I show you a more excellent way. What was urged by those to whom we owe our Scottish Office

[1] Armette, *Incense for Jesus*, p. 69.

is that we have the Scripture authority for Christ's *blessing*, that is, *asking a blessing upon*, the bread and wine. It is to ignore the main point of the objection to the English Liturgy (as being imperfect, though not to such a degree as would involve invalidity) to lay stress on the absence of an express invocation of the Holy Spirit. The main point is that the English Liturgy has at best only in a way obscure and involved, anything that corresponds to the *blessing* of the bread and wine by our Saviour. But to treat this more fully would necessitate entering upon the field of the interpretation of Scripture." [1]

14. The Rev. J. Comper, in his *Handbook on the Liturgies* (1891), writes :

"I think it is quite safe to say that there is no Eastern liturgy, from the earliest downwards, which does not contain an Invocation of the Holy Ghost, that He would descend and make the bread and wine the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ ; and in every instance this prayer is made after the Words of Christ have been recited. . . . This prayer to the Holy Ghost is a distinct and laudable confession of His concurrence in this operation of Divine grace. The early authorities are fond of comparing His agency in the mystery of the operation by which the Eucharistic bread and wine become Christ's Body and Blood, with the formation by the same Spirit of His Blessed Body in the Womb of the Virgin. We see also in this comparison of the work of the Holy Ghost the spiritual character of the Eucharistic presence as being the result of the Spirit's operation. It is no more carnal or dependent on human power than Baptism. . . . It is, therefore, much to be

[1] Dowden, *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, p. 207.

regretted that the Western liturgies, generally, have left out the express and prominent mention of the Holy Ghost as the consecrating agent. But it is a matter of much thankfulness that two of the liturgies in use in the Anglican Communion, the Scottish and the American, have a distinct and explicit Invocation of the Holy Spirit; and in each case this follows the words of Institution."[1]

15. An American writer, Dr. Robert Fairbairn, says that

"there being no oblation of the elements in the English Liturgy, there is no way in which we can make a comparison of its teaching with that of the Anglican theologians. The elements are placed on the Altar. The mere placing them there is an oblation. The mere act pleads to God; but the American Liturgy is far more significant when we express in words the act that we are performing. Thus Bishop Wilson, in *Sacra Privata*, advises the priest and the communicant to supply this defect by saying, from the Liturgy of St. Clement, 'We offer to Thee, our King and our God, this bread and this cup.'"[2]

16. In Blunt's Annotated Prayer Book we are told that

"when the Canon was separated into three parts, in 1552, these words of Oblation were placed after the Communion and the Lord's Prayer. In the Scottish Office of 1637 a return was made to the Liturgy of 1549; and in the revision of 1662 Bishop

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[1] Comper, *Handbook of Liturgies*, pp. 143, 144.

[2] Robert Fairbairn, *The Oblation and the Invocation*, 1894, pp. 105, 106.

Cosin proposed to restore this form rather than that of 1552, as Queen Elizabeth and Lord Burleigh had also wished. But Bishop Cosin's wishes were overruled, probably because it was considered that the times were too dangerous to admit of any conspicuous change in the Communion Service.

"Although, however, the change in the position of the words of Oblation has tended to obscure the meaning of the Service, it cannot for a moment be supposed that the revisers of our Liturgy, in 1552, were so exceedingly and profanely presumptuous as to wish to suppress the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. There were probably some unfortunate temporary reasons (such as the unscrupulous tyranny of ignorant and biassed rulers) which influenced them to make such a change as would save the doctrine, while it left the statement of it more open than before: and they probably thought it better to consult expediency to a certain extent than to run the risk of such an interference as would have taken the Prayer Book out of the hands of the Church, and moulded it to the meagre faith of Calvinistic Puritans. After the alteration was made, some of our best and holiest divines, such as Andrewes and Overall, were accustomed to say the First Thanksgiving, or Prayer of Oblation, before administering the elements, and the second, 'Almighty and Everliving God,' after the Lord's Prayer; but this practice has been discontinued since the last Revision, though its revival is much to be desired.

"From the very nature of the Holy Eucharist, it is, however, impossible for any such change as that which was thus made to vitiate its sacrificial character. The act of Consecration is in itself an act of Sacrifice, whether or not it is accompanied by express words of Oblation. So long, therefore, as properly ordained Priests use the proper formula

of consecration, there must necessarily be an offering of the Holy Eucharist to God; although such a *minimum* form is, it is true, quite discordant with the spirit and letter of Apostolic Liturgies. The whole service is also a virtual memorial before God, even if there were not in any part of it specific words on the subject.

"But the Prayer of Oblation yet remains in our Liturgy, though displaced from its ancient position, and said after Communion; and while any portion of the consecrated elements remains upon the Altar (even after a portion has been consumed), the ancient Sacrificial Act of the Church is literally and verbally continued in respect to that portion, supposing that it is not sufficiently continued towards the portion previously consumed by the more general form of the Prayer of Consecration. There need, therefore, be no room for saying that the Eucharistic Sacrifice is not effectually offered by the modern Liturgy of the Church of England; and all that can be truly said is that a deviation from ancient practice has been made in consuming a part of the consecrated elements before a formal, verbal oblation of them has been made."

"... if there is any room for doubt as to the completeness of the Oblation as made by the acts and words of Consecration, that doubt may be dispelled by the consideration that this definite Prayer of Oblation is used while '*what remaineth of the consecrated elements*' is standing upon the Lord's Table. While that which has just been called many times the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and as such 'reverently' placed on the Lord's Table, and covered 'with a fine linen cloth,' still remains there, the celebrant solemnly beseeches our Lord and Heavenly Father to accept 'this our Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,' that is, our Eucharistic

Sacrifice; and he further says, that though we are unworthy to offer *any sacrifice* whatever, yet *this particular Sacrifice* it is our bounden duty to offer to God, Whom we pray to pardon our unworthiness, and accept us and our work through Christ. The words may well be understood as referring to the whole Act of the Service, to the Consecrated Elements still remaining on the Altar, and to those who have received the Communion.

"Yet there is reason to regret that this Oblation is not made (as it was in the Liturgy of 1549, and as it is now in the Scottish and the American Liturgies) before instead of after the administration."[1]

17. To this series must be added the name of Dr. Luckock, Dean of Lichfield:

"In the first Reformed office the commemorative character of the oblation was more distinctly expressed: 'We Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make, having in remembrance His blessed Passion,' etc.

"All this was omitted in 1552, and the effort made by Cosin to restore it at the final revision was unavailing; and not only was this unmistakably sacrificial language removed, but the position of what was left of the form of Oblation was separated from the act of Consecration by placing it after the Communion of the people, and an option allowed of substituting for it a thanksgiving Collect.

"Now it is competent for us to look at the change in two different lights; on the one hand, we may regard it as liturgically defective, and join with

[1] Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer* (1899), p. 353.

those eminent divines who have denounced it in vehement terms. . . . On the other hand we may plead that the Oblation does not depend upon the use of any form of words, but that 'the simple *action* of the Church in obedience to the command is the sufficient and perfect memorial of the Sacrifice on the Cross.' As we noticed before, oblation is an act, not a form of prayer. Some support might be found for this in Primitive Liturgies; but it cannot be denied that a verbal presentation generally marks the act.

"It will be better therefore to accept the existing form as a prayer of oblation, and to use it as a verbal expression of the sacrificial act; and the retention of one portion of the old prayer, 'Accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,' in connexion with the accompanying petition, 'that by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His Blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins and all other benefits of His Passion,' supplies all that is needed for the purpose. It is possible, no doubt, to interpret the phrase as though 'praise and thanksgiving' were in themselves offered up as a Sacrifice, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews has shown that such an interpretation is admissible, when he wrote, 'Therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to His Name.' If this were the only Scriptural authority for the term, the Church would feel limited to this view in the present prayer; but there is abundant evidence in the Old Testament of its usage for a material sacrifice accompanied by praise and thanksgiving, and especially for the peace-offering which was itself typical of the Eucharistic sacrifice. It was in this latter sense that it was adopted so generally into the Primitive Liturgies;

in this sense that the first revisers used it when they wrote, 'We do celebrate with these holy gifts this Memorial,' following it up by the prayer to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.' The phrase was, moreover, so understood alike by Roman Catholics and English Reformers, for Watson, one of the Marian Bishops, said, 'Thus doth the Church offer Christ her Head to God the Father, as a worthy sacrifice of praise and thanks'; and Ridley wrote, 'As though our unbloody Sacrifice of the Church were any other than the Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, than a Commemoration, a showing-forth, and a Sacramental representation of that one only bloody Sacrifice offered up once for all.' All this affords ample justification for the assertion that the Anglican Church, by retaining the prayer that God will 'accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,' still possesses a verbal oblation of the Memorial Sacrifice of Christ's Death."[1]

[1] Luckock, *The Divine Liturgy*, 1907, pp. 350–353.

CHAPTER IX

The Consecration Prayer in the Twentieth Century

THE opening years of the present century have seen considerable attention paid to the structure of the Anglican Consecration Prayer.

I

The stream of criticism has continued much on the same lines as hitherto.

Liturgical writers, such as Proctor and Frere, indicate the defects of the Anglican Prayer just as their predecessors have done.

In the *History of the Book of Common Prayer* (1902) we are given the following account of what is described as "the dismemberment of the Canon" in Edward's Second Book.

"The central section was retained as the Consecration Prayer; but in place of the invocation of the Holy Spirit the following petition was inserted, 'Grant that we receiving these thy creatures of Bread and Wine according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of

His death and passion may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood.' This change was a most serious departure from primitive methods in that it omitted both the direct prayer for consecration which was retained in 1549, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit, which, though not in the Latin Canon, had been inserted in the new English Canon. Dangerous consequences have also resulted from the ending of the prayer at the recital of the Words of Institution; since it ministers to the narrower Western view of the doctrine of consecration, as being tied to the particular words; and further, the cutting off of its reference to our Lord's resurrection, ascension, and heavenly priesthood, is likely to obscure the true view of the nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice, as the offering which the Church presents on earth in union with our Lord's continued presentation of His sacrifice in heaven.

"The ending of the Consecration prayer at this unfortunate point was brought about by the transference of the third section, the oblation, to the close of the service after the Communion of the people. The purpose of the change is clear. The revisers, accepting the current Western and mediæval doctrine of consecration, were anxious that the Communion should follow immediately upon it, and to secure this, they transferred, not only the Oblation but even the Lord's Prayer also and the prayers following it, till the later moment, after Communion.

"This involved a further imputed change: in 1549 the devotions for Communicants from *The Order of the Communion*, had followed the Canon, and in the old way immediately preceded their Communion. In 1582, conformably with the above mentioned purpose, they were set earlier, and were divided up; the greater part was set before the Anaphora, but the Prayer of Humble Access was

inserted into it, immediately before the Consecration. The revisers thus obtained their purpose, and, by admitting no interval between consecration and communion, they minimized the danger, which there undoubtedly was at that time, of a false habit of eucharistic worship: but the reform was foreclosed at a very dear cost: the present position of the prayer of oblation is the main blot upon the English Liturgy, a blot which has carefully been removed in both the Scottish and the American liturgies." [1]

Mr. L. Pullan, in his book on *Christian Tradition* (1902), says,

"The present service of the Church of England puts into a clear and simple form the later Roman view with regard to the form of consecrating. The 'Prayer of Consecration,' as the Prayer Book itself names it, contains no invocation of the Divine Word or the Holy Spirit, and the consecration is attached to the words, 'This is My Body,' 'This is My Blood.' Any possible doubt as to the intention of our Reformers is removed by the direction that 'If the consecrated Bread or Wine be all spent before all have communicated, the priest is to consecrate more according to the Form before prescribed, beginning at 'Our Saviour Christ, in the same night,' etc. The 'death and passion' of our Lord are mentioned before the words of institution, but there is no mention, either in the Prayer of Consecration or in the succeeding prayers, of the resurrection or ascension, or the descent of the Holy Ghost. The ancient order of the Anaphora is thus demolished. And its demolition is one of the most eloquent testimonies to a fact often completely ignored by modern students.

[1] Proctor & Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, 1902, pp. 472, 473.

It is that the English Reformers, and even Luther himself, were often, for good or evil, directly dominated by the later mediæval theology in which they had been trained. . . . In any case, we know that both the Lutherans and Cranmer accepted the later Western theory that the words of institution definitely formed the minimum and the maximum of consecration. And the exclusive attention paid to the 'death and passion' of our Lord, and the comparative ignoring of His risen and ascended life, were a direct heritage from the same theology. It is impossible not to regret the distance which separates our Anaphora from that of earlier ages. The Scottish and American Communion Offices have restored the ancient scheme."[1]

As to the result of the changes in the second English Liturgy, Mr. Pullan writes that

"One result is that our service contains such rapid transitions that it is very difficult to instruct people in it. If we attempted to explain to a Confirmation candidate that . . . one section emphasizes the fact that we offer a sacrifice, and another shows that we feed upon that sacrifice, we should confuse him in a tangle of sentences. In Scotland the task is easy. We can point to the oblation of the unconsecrated elements after the record of redemption, then point to the invocation of the Holy Spirit, then to the offering of the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and then in a later and separate section to the prayer of humble access, and the communion. And not only do we find the arrangement of our service a difficulty. We are also conscious of the fact that beneath its apparent simplicity there is concealed art. It is almost certain that Cranmer placed the

[1] Pullan, *Christian Tradition*, p. 136.

prayers in their present sequence in order to keep his opponents from interpreting the new English service in the same way as they had interpreted the old Latin one. And, therefore, we must honestly recognize that the manner in which the idea of communion is inserted into our Anaphora was determined by the needs of controversy. The Eastern, Scottish, and, to a great extent the American order, is natural and spontaneous. At first sight it seems elaborate. But the underlying idea is majestically simple. It is the remembrance of our Lord in all that He did and is now doing, irrespective of human controversies. And, therefore, the order of these Liturgies, because it is not reactionary or one-sided, is to be preferred to that of the English Service." [1]

The American writer, the Rev. Dr. Gummey, author of a very learned treatise on *The Consecration of the Eucharist* (1908), deplores the charges made by Archbishop Cranmer in the second Edwardine Book, but is not satisfied with the form of Invocation contained in the first. It seems to him a hesitating mode of expression. But this hesitating mode of expression gives way

"to a far more radical departure from the Latin rite (and from all antiquity) in the Second Book of 1552. In this, not to speak of any other excisions, the Invocation in the Prayer of Consecration is reduced to the wide indefinite form still retained in the English Book of Common Prayer." [2]

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[1] Pullan, *ibid.*, p. 131.

[2] Gummey, *The Consecration of the Eucharist*, p. 176.

Thus, according to this author, a hesitating mode of expression was changed into a weak indefinite form. But yet

"in spite of all the influence brought to bear by Bucer and Peter Martyr, Cranmer nevertheless retained an implicit Epiklesis in the Book of 1552, although all that smacked of oblation was cut ruthlessly away. Thus the Church of England, though well-nigh losing touch with primitive and truly Catholic practice, was preserved by a narrow margin from the novel and peculiarly Lutheran use." [1]

Professor Seabury of New York acknowledges that it is the intention of the English Church to do what Christ did, and therefore to make the oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ, but considers that the want of clearness on the subject is profoundly regrettable.

"I am speaking of the common judgment of the Church that the Sacrifice is offered not only as material, but also as mystical; and to present before the Father by way of memorial the one perfect and sufficient Sacrifice of Christ as He appointed it to be presented. And I believe it to be correct to say that in the exercise of this judgment the Eastern and Roman and Anglican Churches have always in their Liturgies made provision for the oblation of the Bread and Wine as such, the Eastern and Roman Churches providing also for the oblation of the Bread and Wine in their mystical import as made by Christ's appointment to be His Body and Blood. In the case of the Anglican Churches, excepting the Scottish and American members of that

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

group, while there is no formal oblation in this import, yet it cannot fail to be inferred to be within the intention of those Churches from the mere fact of their professing in their consecration to continue that perpetual memory which Christ instituted, with the means used by Him for the Institution, and with the Words used by Him in the Institution." [1]

II

But what has given peculiar point to criticisms on our Consecration Prayer is the movement for Prayer Book revision. That movement was prompted by various motives. It was in many places regarded with reluctance and apprehension. But it was felt, very strongly indeed, by those who are conscious of the defects of our Eucharistic Rite, that if revision was to be attempted at all, then it must certainly be applied to those matters which need it most. They could not see the reasonableness of revising minor details while leaving the more serious of the defects altogether unimproved.

Accordingly, one result of the movement for revision was the production of a series of Revised Prayer Books by individual members of the Church.

An important movement in this direction is the Declaration adopted at a Conference at

[1] Seabury, in Gummey's *The Consecration of the Eucharist*, p. xii.

Hickleton in 1911. The Declaration included the following resolves :

"To resist, and refuse to employ, any revised form of the Book of Common Prayer which,

"1. Relaxes the present directions of the Ornaments Rubric.

"2. Alters the substance of the Athanasian Creed, or removes the duty of reciting it on certain holy days.

"3. Sanctions the giving of Holy Communion to persons who are neither confirmed nor desirous to be confirmed.

"4. Fails to restore a better and more primitive 'Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper,' the irreducible *minimum* of improvement being :

"(*a*) The linking together of

"(1) Preface and Sanctus.

"(2) The present Prayer of Consecration.

"(3) The present Prayer of Oblation.

"(4) The Lord's Prayer

and (*b*) the placing of the Exhortation, Confession, Absolution, and Comfortable Words in their proper place after the Communion of the Priest."

This Declaration which confirmed other points which are not within our present scope, was published by Mr. Athelstan Riley in the Alcuin Tract on Prayer Book Revision (1911).

In this Tract the Communion Office was printed, rearranging the order of the parts concerning the offering and the parts concerning the reception, in accordance with the lines of this irreducible minimum of the Conference at Hickleton.[1]

[1] Alcuin Club Tracts, ix. *Prayer Book Revision*, by Athelstan Riley. Mowbray, 1911.

Another result has been the careful formulation by liturgical experts of the principles upon which a really satisfactory revision of the Consecration Prayer must proceed. Fr. Frere's *Some Principles of Liturgical Reform*[1] (1911) contains one of the very clearest and most convincing expositions of this subject that we possess. The passage which deals with the existing Anglican Consecration Prayer is one of the most important which the movement for Revision has produced.

In a *Prayer Book Revised*, published anonymously by Mowbray in 1913, with a preface by the Bishop of Oxford, stating that the work was compiled at his suggestion, the editor says,

"In regard to the Communion Service, the changes needed are mainly in the order of the various parts; but it is agreed by all who have studied the subject that these changes are needed urgently, and that the present dislocation of the office is a real source of weakness to all those Churches of our Communion which have not the advantage of using the Scottish or American Liturgies. We have added the Invocation to the Prayer of Consecration, using the admirable form of the Prayer Book of 1637, wherein the words of 1549 are brought back and combined with those of 1552; and we have thus restored the *Epiklesis*, which is so important a feature of all the early Liturgies and still of the Eastern Liturgies of to-day."[2]

Another private proposal for the restoration of the Consecration Prayer is that published

[1] Pp. 186–194. [2] P. xii.

by the Rev. Canon Randolph and the Rev. J. H. Maude in 1914, under the title *A Revised Liturgy*.

In this book Canon Randolph says that :

" At the present time . . . there is a strong and widespread desire to have prayer for the departed more clearly expressed in our public services. Again, the absence of any *Epiklesis* or Invocation of the Holy Spirit has been felt by all liturgical students to be a blot in our Service. Both these omissions have been restored here. . . . No one, I trust, will be averse to . . . the position of the Prayer of Humble Access after Consecration and immediately before Communion. Thus while avoiding all more timid or negative work, an attempt has been made to bring the Service into closer conformity with ancient models, without adding anything which might cause unnecessary offence." [1]

In this proposed Revision the Consecration Prayer includes the Invocation :

" Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee ; and with Thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ : Who in the same night that He was betrayed, etc."

Then follows the narrative of the Institution, after which the prayer proceeds :

" Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son our

[1] *A Revised Liturgy*, by Randolph and Maude, Mowbray, 1914, p. 4.

Saviour Jesus Christ, we Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make ; having in remembrance His blessed Passion, mighty Resurrection, and glorious Ascension into Heaven ; rendering unto Thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same ; entirely desiring Thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept, etc."

Then follows the prayer of Oblation, and the Lord's Prayer.

Another private effort in the same direction has been published entitled *Revision of the Book of Common Prayer, from the point of view of a Parish Priest* ; by the Rev. R. J. Edmund Boggis (1914).

With regard to the Canon he writes :

"A little rearrangement, merely altering the order of the parts of the service, would greatly improve it, collecting together the various portions of the Canon, and also those of the penitential preparations for the reception of the Communion. I would suggest this order :

"Prayer for the Church, Sursum Corda, etc., Preface, Consecration Prayer, Lord's Prayer (prefaced by the ancient invitation), Prayer of Oblation ('O Lord and heavenly Father,' etc.), Exhortation ('Ye that do truly,' etc.), Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, Prayer of Humble Access, the Communion, Thanksgiving ('Almighty and everlasting God,' etc.), 'Glory be to God on high, etc.' The Peace and Blessing."[1]

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[1] Boggis, *Revision*, p. 75.

With regard to the Invocation Mr. Boggis says:

"So important was the Invocation of the Spirit in all ancient liturgies (as it is also in those of the eastern rites now) that this, rather than the recitation of the words of Institution, was regarded as the essential part of the Consecration. Both the Scottish and the American books have recognized this by restoring the Invocation in their liturgies; and it is a matter of first importance that its use should be at least permitted to English Churchmen. The following form is adapted from the liturgy of Constantinople: 'We most humbly beseech Thee, O Father, to send down Thy Holy Spirit to bless and consecrate these gifts, which we offer unto Thee; that this bread and this wine may become the precious body and blood of Christ; and that we who are partakers thereof may obtain pardon and grace, and be counted worthy to enter into Thy presence; through the same Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.'"[1]

This is certainly a very moderate revision. It does not attempt to group together the whole Service under its two component parts of the Offering and the Reception. The Prayer for the Church Militant is left as at present, followed by the Invitation, General Confession, Absolution, and Comfortable Words. The words of Invocation in the Consecration Prayer are these:

"Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee; and of Thy almighty goodness vouch-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

safe so to bless and sanctify with Thy Holy Spirit and Word these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; so that we receiving them according to His holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood, Who, in the same night that He was betrayed, took bread," etc.[1]

The Prayer of Oblation follows immediately after the Consecration Prayer.

III

But beyond all this there has been a third phenomenon, that of Eucharistic Interpolations. The practice of transposing prayers in the Eucharist is nothing new. The earliest known example is Bishop Overall. Bishop Overall considered it within his liturgical rights to transpose the Prayer of Oblation to its ancient place when he celebrated the Eucharist. Bishop Cosin not only defended this action, but declared that "if men would consider the nature of this Sacrament, they could not choose but use it so too, for as it stands it is out of place." It would be interesting to know what influence this example and teaching had on the clergy of their dioceses. Brett, afterwards a Non-juror, tells us that he did the same thing in

[1] *A Prayer Book Revised*, 1913, p. 81.

his Anglican days. The theologian, Johnson of Cranbrook, one of our greatest students of the Eucharist, declared openly that priests who think the present office inadequate must "labour with prayers to God and with persuasions and arguments to men for the perfect restoration of the" Oblation, and in the meantime must "supply such defects as well as they can by their own private silent devotions."

Attention may well be called to this deliberate advice given in a great theological treatise, because, apart from the question of its influence on the writer's own age, this is precisely what is being practised by a large number of clergy at the present time.

No doubt Eucharistic interpolations did not begin with the twentieth century. The practice of interpolating the principal part of the unreformed Prayer of Consecration into our Eucharistic Service already existed in the nineteenth century, and was supported by the authority of such priests as Dr. Liddon and Dean Randall. But the extent to which this practice has increased is without precedent. Few features of modern English Church life are more arresting than the prevailing tendency to Eucharistic interpolations. The additions of ceremonial observances may be popularly more conspicuous, but they are incomparably less momentous. For the ceremonial is a mere

external addition to the Liturgy, whereas the interpolations affect, and are deliberately intended to affect, the whole structure and principles of the Liturgy itself. Interpolations of the whole method of consecration from another Communion Office imply a profound and very serious dissatisfaction with Anglican Eucharistic devotions.

The drawbacks and unsatisfactoriness of such a procedure are sufficiently obvious.

It means the making a patchwork composition of two Liturgies, each of which has its own distinctive unity and character ; each is intelligible when taken separately, but incoherent when confused with another. The task of blending two inconsistent and independent Communion Rites into real unity must necessarily baffle mortal power, however great man's ingenuity may be. The chaotic result of such endeavours has been forcibly and sarcastically described more than once of late. And no one could regard it at best as more than a temporary way to avoid another defect which is considered to be of a still more serious kind.

For even if it satisfies the requirements of the priest who perpetrates it, these interpolations are purely personal and individual. They are probably ignored in the next parish. They are no more than congregational. Moreover, being silently made additions, they

neither instruct nor edify the people, who are conscious of nothing but a tedious delay, which taxes their forbearance but does not promote their faith.

And yet, abnormal as these interpolations are, they are unquestionably increasing. It is calculated on good authority that Eucharistic interpolations are being now made by between 2,000 and 3,000 of the clergy of the English Church. This is a very serious thing. It cannot be considered a healthy sign. It is deprecated by a number of Catholics both priests and laity. But it is almost inconceivable that it will be suppressed. How can it be? The fact is that many who object to these interpolations sympathize entirely with the motive of those who introduce them. They cannot believe that the proper remedy can be found this way, but are just as painfully conscious of the defects of the Anglican Office.

Already much has been written on this subject. Fr. Frere's words have been quoted. Mr. Lacey published, in 1898, his Alcuin Club Tract on *Liturgical Interpolations*.

"In 1559 there was a question whether the first or second Book should be revived. The worse counsel unhappily prevailed, and the second Book, with some few valuable changes, came into use. It remains, and a certain beauty of age has gathered about it. It is sufficient. We have here all that is essential, all the necessary elements of the Divine

Liturgy. But they are dislocated, their interrelation is confused, their meaning obscured." [1]

Mr. Lacey contends that we have all that is essential because

"the essence of the Sacrifice consists in the proclamation of the Lord's death effected when the Body and Blood of Christ become sacramentally present under the separate forms of bread and wine. This being the essence of the Sacrifice, it is clear that the one essential feature of the Liturgy is the Consecration itself. Where there is Consecration, there is the Sacrifice. The English Liturgy, therefore, contains all that is essential." [2]

But though it contains all that is essential, it is quite another thing to say that the meaning of the Sacrifice is as clearly expressed as it ought to be.

"In the Prayer Book of 1549, indeed, where the same phrases are differently assorted, the expression is clear enough. But it can hardly be denied that in the Liturgy as we now have it, through that dislocation of the parts . . . the expression of the Sacrifice is comparatively obscured. During our progress of the last sixty years there has grown up a strong desire to express the full meaning of the Sacrifice. This, and nothing else, is the reason for interpolating prayers which do not belong to our rite. Is the practice defensible? Is it necessary? Is it reasonable?" [3]

The answer given is that

"Our Anaphora being thus complete in all essentials, why should it be thought necessary to inter-

[1] Lacey, *Liturgical Interpolations*, p. 11.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 13. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

polate into it portions of any other rite? We need not shut our eyes to its faults, viewed from the standpoint of Liturgical services. We need not hesitate to compare it unfavourably with those of other rites. We need not pretend to admire the arrangement which brings the Communion into the middle of the Eucharistic action. . . . We may reasonably hope for improvement, suggest amendment or change. But in the meantime the Liturgy is appointed as it stands. It has its faults. We shall not mend them by unauthorized alterations." [1]

Liturgical interpolations appear in another form, which is far more prevalent. This is the interpolation of Eucharistic Hymns. This interpolation is prompted by two very different motives. One is to repeat in another shape doctrines which the Eucharistic Office distinctly affirms. The other is to enforce doctrines which the Office either obscures or inadequately represents. It is this latter motive which is the conspicuous cause of the introduction of many of our modern hymns. Some of them were expressly written for such a purpose. Their popularity in the Church is accounted for by the fact that they express what masses of Churchpeople believe but what the English Eucharistic Office has failed to utter in clear and unmistakable form. Such hymns, it is maintained, are in harmony with the Church's intention. They give explicit utterance to its implicit beliefs. They supple-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

ment its instructiveness and remedy its defectiveness.

Few hymns have gained a wider popularity, have commended themselves more deeply to the Eucharistic devotion of the English Church, than Dr. Bright's wonderful hymn :

" And now, O Father, mindful of the Love
That bought us, once for all, on Calvary's tree,
And having with us Him that pleads above,
We here present, we here spread forth to Thee
That only Offering perfect in Thine eyes,
The one true, pure, immortal Sacrifice."

Churches may be found where this verse is regularly interpolated every Sunday in each Choral Eucharist : thus becoming in practical effect a recognized portion of the Eucharistic idea. And the reason for this popularity and this use is obvious. It is because the aspect of the Offering is here emphasized with a force and clearness such as is ordinary in the ancient liturgies but in respect to which our Anglican Liturgy is deficient. The devotion of the Church is becoming increasingly conscious of a disproportion in our liturgical expressions which it is endeavouring to remedy in this way.

This is not the only hymn by any means in which the same intention appears and a similar popularity has followed. It is also true of the Hymn, " Once only once and once for all."

Attempts have also been made to interpolate in verse an Invocation of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist, as in the hymn,[1]

"Look down upon us, God of grace,
And send from Thy most holy place
The quickening Spirit all Divine,
On us and on this bread and wine.

"O may His overshadowing
Make now for us this bread and wine,
The Body of Thy Son our Lord,
This cup His Blood for sinners poured."

This hymn, by Canon Mason, is the closest reproduction of the ancient liturgical words of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit on the Eucharistic elements. It introduces in the form of a hymn that appeal to Omnipotence which, as we have seen, numerous Anglican theologians have desired from the days of Archbishop Laud to our own.

All these devotional interpolations are taken from one hymn book only. They are found in Hymns Ancient and Modern. The enormous circulation of this book adds to their impressiveness. No doubt it is difficult to define the position in the Church of collections of hymns possessing no official authority. But it is undeniable that these hymns are inculcating doctrinal ideas and liturgical principles all through the English Church. By the very fact that they are clothed in the forms of

[1] *A. and M.*, 552.

religious poetry they enter into minds and memories where perhaps the prayers of the Liturgy make less impression because they are not so easily learnt. But if it is permissible in an Anglican Eucharist to invoke the Holy Ghost in hymns, and to make the Offering of the Consecrated Elements in poems addressed to the Father ; it must be permissible to have these invocations and offerings introduced into the structure of the Liturgy itself, where the ancient Church has always placed them. To overlook their use in congregational devotion and to deprecate their insertion in the Liturgy can never be a satisfactory treatment, whether regarded from a religious or an intellectual point of view. Nor is it likely for a moment that the use of hymns of such a character will diminish in the English Church. The evidence points entirely in the opposite way.

IV

This was the point which had been reached when the subject of reconstructing the Prayer of Consecration came before the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury in Convocation (1915).[1] The Joint Committee of the Upper and Lower Houses had recommended that

"the Prayer of Consecration shall be said immediately after the Sanctus, the 'Amen' at the end being

[1] *Chronicle of Convocation*, 1915, No. 2, pp. 273, ff.

omitted; the Prayer of Oblation shall follow at once (prefaced by the word 'wherefore'), and the Lord's Prayer; then shall be said the Prayer of Humble Access, followed by the Communion of priest and people; after the Communion shall follow the Thanksgiving, the Gloria, and the Blessing." [1]

This recommendation had been already passed in the Lower House by 45 to 5.

The objections raised to this revision in the Upper House were that it would lay a new emphasis upon the idea of Sacrifice; that it was questionable whether, as a matter of policy, it was wise to challenge the opposition which would certainly be roused by the change; that a double use would tend to make two sets of Churches; that the change would "upset the delicate balance of the Communion Service," and unsettle many devout persons.

It was admitted by one speaker that

"it was very probable that everything that was proposed in that resolution was in accordance with very ancient teaching, and if they were passing a Prayer Book for the first time, almost every one of them would say that that was a form which they would be very glad to adopt." [2]

By another it was said that

"if they were drafting a Liturgy for the first time, or for some new branch Church, he would not have the slightest hesitation in voting for the order proposed

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 273

[2] *Chronicle of Convocation*, p. 227.

. . . not only on antiquarian and theological grounds, but as, on the whole, more expressive of what they would desire to express in that Service." [1]

He saw no reason why it should not be used "in private services of collegiate and other bodies, which were not for the general public." In short, it was good and true, but inopportune.

Another said that "it would not satisfy the Catholic party."

On the other side, the Bishop of Oxford said that

"he thought the only way to attempt to heal was to rectify reasonable grievances, and so to strengthen what he would call the great central body of feeling in the Church on that matter. It appeared to them that the great central body of the Church had a quite reasonable grievance. They had been for years past thrown into the arms of those who would, more or less, in his judgment, misguide them, because Convocation had refused to give them that reasonable reform which on any liturgical or theological principles they had a right to demand. There was a great mistake made at the Reformation, he ventured to think, in the way of leaving out of sight the whole ancient structure of the Liturgy; they went to the very verge of destroying the continuity of the Liturgy because they reacted over-much from error. Ever since then the Church had really been having great cause to regret that, and they had taken various ways of rectifying it. The best way, he thought,

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

was taken by the Scotch Church and the American Church. That was at present beyond their reach, but let them do something." [1]

This, however, was what the Upper House declined to do. The proposal to revise the Canon was lost by a majority of 10.

The consequence of this refusal of the Bishops is that Convocation has no remedy to propose for the discontent with the existing office or for the interpolations which continue to be made as before, and probably tend to be made on a wider scale owing to the failure to provide a remedy.

The unsatisfactoriness of the existing state of things is naturally leading to still more discussion.

The subject of interpolations has been more recently discussed by "Didascalus," in the tract called *Decently and in Order*, published by the Society of SS. Peter and Paul (1916). It is written with a certain sharpness, probably accounted for by the failure of the Church to solve the difficulties.

It is said emphatically that the result of the 1552 changes was to produce a "chaotic and irrational sequence" [2]; and asks whether anything can be done by unofficial action to bring some sort of order into it.[3] The method

[1] *Chronicles of Convocation*, p. 281.
[2] *Decently and in Order*, p. 7. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

of secretly interpolating the Canon of another Liturgy into the English Service, "so far from remedying the existing confusion of our order, increases that confusion tenfold." [1] The author looks wistfully towards the magnificent English Liturgy of Edward VI;

"which is a real Rite, and not a mere dilettante exercise in Liturgy-making." "This, and not any bastard Anglo-Roman Missal is, as we believe, the predestined Liturgical instrument of that glorious Anglo-Catholic Church of the future which may do so much to heal the wounds of Christendom, and to restore the Northern nations to the unity of God's Church."

He maintains that the restoration of the 1549 use by the authoritative action of Convocation "is a thing well within the range of possibility." [2]

Meanwhile the author suggests:

"Why should we not take our courage in both hands, and frankly put the Prayer of Oblation back to its proper place, that is, immediately after the Prayer of Consecration, where it occurs in the Rite of 1549, and in the present Scottish and American Liturgies, and where Bishop Overall and other Catholic divines were accustomed to say it?" [3]

It is at this point that the importance is seen of Lord Halifax's Presidential Address to the English Church Union (1916). An exceedingly important vote, that of the Bishop of London, had been given in Convocation against

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 9. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 13. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

the proposed change in the Eucharistic Canon, on the ground that Catholics would not be satisfied.[1]

Lord Halifax maintained that "there was some truth in this statement, but not sufficient . . . to justify the Bishop's action." Conferences of clergy had been held at Hickleton, in order to ascertain what was really the fact, and what it is possible to do with the general goodwill and assent of the school of clergy to which reference had been made.[2]

Lord Halifax's account is as follows:

"We have been allowed for a great many years to use the Liturgy of the First Book of Edward VI in our chapels; it has also sometimes, not infrequently indeed on weekdays, been said in the parish church. At these conferences clergy were present who had previously insisted that they never could say Mass in any other way than which I have just described. After hearing the Liturgy of the First Book sung as we sing it, and after themselves celebrating in accordance with it, all, or nearly all, and some of those who had at first been most opposed to the idea of any such change, entirely altered their minds, and said that they would be glad to follow the use of the First Prayer Book, or something analogous to it. In other words, that if it were rightly possible to use the Liturgy in Edward VI's book as we use it, or to obtain tacit acquiescence for such a transposition of the prayers in the Communion Office

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[1] *The Dislocation of the Canon*, p. 11. [2] pp. 13–15.

of the present Prayer Book, as practically comes to much the same thing, they would be prepared to say the whole Mass as set out in Edward's First Book, or to use the prayers in the present Prayer Book transposed as in the First Book, instead of using portions of the Canon taken from the unreformed Latin Service. There are many besides those who were at Hickleton who I know would be very glad to do the same thing, but who hesitate to do so on their own authority in view of what they feel is due to the requirements of ecclesiastical order, and the scruples they would have in making such a change on their own responsibility. . . .

"And here I touch upon the second point I want to discuss: What it may be possible to do in regard to this matter; what, having regard to existing ecclesiastical obligations, can be done now, and at once, to remedy that dislocation of the Canon which, for so many reasons, is so much to be deplored. Is there anything we can do, and if so, on what principles can such action be justified? Or, is there nothing we can do, and are we to wait for ever for all the reforms that are of real importance for the good of the Church, the teaching of the Faith and the welfare of our people? For example, are we to be content with general exhortations as to the duty of observing Sunday, and never to promote its observance by insisting on the only intelligible rule that does anything to secure the manner in which it ought to be observed?

"There are two things which it seems to me might be done. The place of the Prayer of Oblation, together with the Lord's Prayer, might be transferred from its present position after the Communion and said immediately after the Consecration. Such a transference might be held to be irregular, but inasmuch as it would only involve saying two prayers

in the Communion Office instead of one, and a slight change in the position of the Lord's Prayer, none could think it disloyal to that *Ecclesia Anglicana* we all love and desire to serve. Such a practice already prevails in many churches, and might be followed in a great many more. Or, which I believe would be the better course in every way, and the course more likely to commend itself to ecclesiastical authority, we might revert to the use of the Communion Office in the First Book of Edward VI, in which the dislocation of the Canon finds no place, in which the *Gloria in Excelsis* and the Communion of the people are maintained in their original positions, and which resembles in its arrangement more nearly than our present Prayer Book the Scotch and American uses."

CHAPTER X

Conclusions

HERE then our summary of the evidence of dissatisfaction with the English Consecration Prayer is completed. The question is, What is the remedy? There can be no remedy but restoration of the worldwide use. What is wanted is permissive use of the First Reformed Communion Service, or the rearrangement of the Canon in the Service which we now possess.

I

This demand is strengthened by the very objections raised against it. For the objections are mostly of a merely opportunist character.

To make this change has been called "upsetting the delicate balance of the Communion Office." This assumes that the present Office is characterized by its delicate balance. I

feel convinced that no liturgical student would endorse that expression. I cannot conceive a more singularly inappropriate phrase than to talk of the delicate balance of an Office which makes the Oblation an alternative and therefore optional collect in the Post-Communion. Delicate balance would be a far truer description of the Office of 1549. The delicate balance is exactly what our present Office has upset. And to accuse a restoration of the original balance with upsetting the balance which it restores is one of the strangest objections that could possibly be made. It sounds almost cynical.

It has been objected that the transposition of this Prayer would encourage non-communicating attendance.

This objection is contrary to experience.

It is of course well known that the Communion Service of 1549 is being used in several dioceses in England in private chapels with Episcopal authority. Thus an opportunity for experimental knowledge on the subject is being given us. Those who have been present where the Eucharist has been conducted according to the Office of 1549 will, I think, agree that the effect is very different from what they had expected.

On the one hand the grouping together of all that denotes the Offering does force that aspect strongly on the mind. But on the

other the grouping together of all that concerns the Reception forces that aspect on the mind with equal impressiveness. As you listen while one after another the Intercessions for the Church, the Consecration and the Oblation are recited, the idea of the Eucharist being the perpetual Memorial of Christ's Passion is indeed prominent and pre-eminent. But as you listen next to the series of the Invitation and Confession and Absolution and Comfortable Words, and the Prayer of Humble Access, then the actual Reception, and then the Prayer of Thanksgiving for the gift received, the accumulated force of this reiterated emphasis on the act of Communion is extraordinarily powerful. All that second part of the service belongs to the communicant alone. That is to say, that the more distinctly you group together the Eucharistic devotions in the two main aspects the more you enforce the necessity of regarding it and using it in both ways.

It is true that the mere transposition of the Prayer of Oblation would not group together the prayers about reception. But it would in reality strengthen the idea of receiving, because it would necessitate the constant use of the Prayer of Thanksgiving for the gift received.

And this is the answer to the objection that the proposed transposition "would introduce an important doctrinal change" by

"laying a new emphasis on the idea of offering." It is quite true that it would do this. But it is also true that it would lay new emphasis on the idea of reception. For it is a well known fact that the Prayer of Thanksgiving is continually omitted. If this change were made it could be omitted no more.

II

Looking back on all this criticism of defects in the Consecration Prayer it is difficult not to be impressed with its extensiveness, its variety and its persistency. It is no mere result of the Oxford Movement. It has been continuous ever since the Elizabethan Age. It has steadily increased in volume.

It has shown itself in a great variety of ways. It has shown itself (1) in efforts at Revision; (2) in bold transposition of the Prayer of Oblation by Bishops and Priests of the English Church; (3) in endeavours to supplement our Communion Service by private manuals of Eucharistic Devotion. These manuals begin from the early seventeenth century. They have continued to be produced at intervals ever since. They include such writers as Bishop Andrewes, Bishop Wilson, Robert Nelson, Bishop Jeremy Taylor. In addition to these the same intention showed itself (4) in the formation of Liturgies, whether that of

the Scottish Church or that of Bishop Jeremy Taylor, for use in the Commonwealth; or the series of private revision in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; or in the Liturgy of the Nonjurors, or the American Communion Service, or the Prayer Book of the Irvingites, or in the private revisions of the present day. Every one of these show the same dissatisfaction with the Anglican use, and a resolute desire to remedy its principal defects. (5) Beyond these there is the work of the liturgical experts, the students of ancient liturgies, and well-known writers on our Book of Common Prayer. Many distinguished writers of the first rank acknowledge, some in terms of regret, some in terms of severe criticism, the English deviation from all ancient precedent. It would be quite impossible to parallel this with a list of liturgical experts of equal distinction on the other side.

An adverse criticism upon a liturgy, sustained by Archbishop Laud, Bishop Overall, Herbert Thorndike, L'Estrange, Archbishop Sancroft, the learned Lutheran Grabe, Bingham, Johnson of Cranbrook, Waterland, Wheatley, Bishops Brett and Hickes and Collier and Campbell; Bishop Seabury, Bishop Forbes of Brechin, Bishop Skinner, Bishop Horsley, Scudamore, Freeman, Proctor and Frere, Medd, Blunt and Bishop Dowden of Edinburgh, forms a total so

imposing that it certainly deserves the very serious attention of those to whom expert knowledge is impressive. It certainly does look as if discontent with our existing Rite increased in proportion to knowledge of the principles upon which all the ancient liturgies were constructed. It is not merely the discontent of so many theologians and so many Bishops. But it is that the men most qualified to give an opinion are nearly all of them of one mind. It is this which is and ought to be impressive, and which gives peculiar weight to the evidence of discontent which is here collected.

(6) And then we have also seen the disconcerting fact of recent liturgical interpolation, the introduction into the English Rite of large portions of the prayers of another Liturgy: an expedient which whatever can be said for it is at any rate startling evidence of widespread discontent with the Communion Service we now possess.

Since 1896 the Church in Japan has sanctioned the American and the English form of Consecration as alternative uses.

In the evidence given before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline it will be remembered that the Bishop of Bristol (Bishop Browne) insisted at considerable length on the value of Edward's First Book. He said,

"I am afraid it will sound a startling thing to a

good many of you, and I think you will see by my action in my own diocese that I am not guided by it as a principle, but I think the nearer you can let the ritual of the Church of England come to the first Prayer Book of Edward VI, the better work you will be doing for the eventual fight against Romanism."

After some discussion the Chairman asked: "You mean that the first Prayer Book of Edward VI should be permissive and not obligatory?" The Bishop answered, "Certainly."

The truth is that English Churchmen are realizing to an extent unprecedented the need of completer Eucharistic expression. The time must certainly come when that need is provided for. Meanwhile the evidence here produced ought surely to preclude the supposition that the claim to have the Canon rearranged is merely a transitory consequence of a revival whose strength is spent, and that it may be quietly averted by the simple expedient of indefinite postponement. This opinion the whole united force of the evidence contradicts. Whether the English Church is sufficiently prepared to carry out the change in an adequate way is of course another question. What is certain is that sooner or later the change must come. Three centuries of waiting make us hope that the improvement will not be long delayed.

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